

EDUCATION IN INDIA

PAST : PRESENT : FUTURE

(A Text Book for Students of 'Education')

Volume-I

**(Enlarged and thoroughly revised, with latest
available information and data)**

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

I should start with an apology for the delayed publication of this revised and enlarged volume. (i) The delay was caused by the insurmountable electrical load shedding, (ii) the desire of the students to be posted with latest information, for the collection and sorting out of which I had to wait.

I should also make a plain admission that the volume is intended to be a Text Book to help the students of 'Education'. This volume is a response to the demand of students for a comprehensive book covering the courses in several universities of West Bengal.

Yet the scope of the volume is limited in so far as it covers a ground which has been diversely covered by different books, periodicals, commission reports etc. I do not claim much of 'original' in this volume excepting comments and interpretations of facts and data.

It would have been very difficult to offer separate books for B.A., B.Ed., and M.A., M.Sc. (Education) students. An omnibus pattern had to be adopted so that different groups of students might be fed. With the exception of some common ground, differential emphasis has been placed upon different topics so that different groups of students may be equally benefited. It is upto the readers to sift out the materials for themselves,

The present volume deals mainly with 'history of education' before and after independence of India and some of its current problems, and the history of the administration of education. Special attention had to be paid to the undergraduate syllabus in education introduced by Calcutta University in 1978.

Education in India stands at crossroads. If, in these days of planning, we may adopt dynamic and progressive ideas and recast our pattern of education in pursuance of modern thoughts, we may expect something better in future. If not, we shall go down the precipice. These problems most of which are controversial, will be discussed in a second volume which may be issued in a few months.

The printing under load shedding involved an element of haste and hurry. It is apprehended that printing errors have crept into the matter. Corrections may please be made by readers themselves.

Opinions and suggestions are earnestly expected. I shall try with an open mind to accomodate positive suggestions for improvement.

Readers will however see for themselves that the organisation of matter for this edition was thoroughly a recast.

The volume of this edition had to be increased by three formats so that necessary content matter for M.A. and B.A. (revised syllabus) students might be incorporated, particularly the latest data. The publishers could not but increase the selling price. For this again, I myself must apologise.

Jyoti Prasad Banerjee

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PAST : PRESENT : FUTURE

Volume 1

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Education in India

Past : Present : Future

Part I—Education in the Past

CHAPTER—I

Education in Ancient India

Introduction : The culture of a people is a superstructure built upon the solid foundation of the material conditions of life. A nation's system of education is an integral part of its culture and value system. Obviously, a system of education reflects the constituent forces of a nation's life. These are—(a) the racial character of the people, (b) the physical and geographical environment which provides nurture, (c) the philosophical ideology adhered to by the people and its evolution from phase to phase, (d) history and tradition, including political theories and beliefs, (e) religion and the Church, (f) population—its growth, mobility and group dynamics, (g) economic conditions including resources, modes of production, productive relationship, theories of economic investment, class conflict (h) social stratification, social values and forms, (i) political system including constitutional structure of the state

In short, a system of education reflects the life of a nation, its character, its socio-political and economic conditions as well as aspirations. Moreover, the distinctive identity of the people, which we call 'national character' influences national culture and education.

The culture and education of a nation does not simply reflect the nation's past. It reflects the present values, demands and needs of life too. Moreover, it looks forward and shows the path to the future. Evidently, a system of education is not only a conservator and custodian of the nation's culture, it is also a corrector and creator of culture. Crises arise when there is a gap between static and decadent culture on the one hand and the dynamic demands of life on the other, between spiritual and material bases of life, between tradition and progress, between systems of values. Educational problems emerge through gaps and loopholes left by historical development of society and education. History solved many such problems and

simultaneously asked new questions. In fact, the roots of many of our current problems of education are to be discovered in the developmental history of education. This justifies the study of "history of education" in order that we may properly understand our current problems thereof.

True it is that every nation's system of education is typically its own. It reflects the nation's genius, her attempts to solve her own problems through her own system of education. But this is also true that no nation is an isolate in the present era of civilisation. There are common problems before all nations, as well as points of interaction and interconnection. Hence a present system of education simultaneously reflects the past, the impact of the present and the projected future.

This is particularly true of education in India. The solid foundation of Vedic-Brahmanic education had absorbed the influences of Buddhist education by making necessary adjustments and reforms of itself. Islamic education meant infiltration of a new element which coexisted with Hindu education and culture. Western culture was a subsequent superimposition. The absorption, synthesis and change had not always been smooth and perfect, nor could education readily respond to the demands of each day. Hence arose our problems.

Our culture and education represents a continuity from the ancient through the mediaeval, to the current period. The conventional, conservative and feudal tenets got mixed up with the colonial pattern of under developed countries. At present, there is further interpolation of some educational features of industrial economy. Like our culture, our education has been a melting pot. With an objective of making a comprehensive study of our education, we should therefore start with a synoptic study of our ancient system of education.

A few factors that influenced ancient Indian education.

- (1) It has been amply proved that our civilisation is indebted not to the Aryans alone, but to Non-Aryans alike. The two streams of Aryan and non-Aryan culture combined to produce Indian culture.
- (2) The characteristics of Aryan and Non-Aryan achievements got synthesised. The Aryan emphasis upon spirituality got mixed up with the Non-Aryan achievements in arts, aesthetics, constructive excellence and emotional exuberance to produce a distinctive cultural

character of India. This character was reflected in ancient Indian education.

(3) Religious and philosophical thoughts in the ancient and mediaeval days were integrally mixed up in every country. In the case of India this was typically true. The concept of religion in ancient India was the sourcefount of all other concepts. The concepts and ideals of education were, therefore, vitally influenced by the religious concept. This led Prof. R. K. Mukherjee to observe, "One unique feature of ancient Indian civilization is that it has been shaped and moulded in course of its history more by religious influences than by political or economic considerations." We must note, however, that social and economic influences were almost equally powerful; and that religion in ancient India was never a "dogma". It represented certain basic ways of life which would unite man with man. Religion meant a regulating principle which governed each sphere of life. That is why the humanitarian appeal of Vedic religion did not respect national and geographical boundaries. It became an absorbing cauldron with "humanity" as the crystallizing agent. With the growth of social contradictions, religion was made a dogmatic handmaid of traditionalism and conservatism.

(4) The geographical environment nurtures human nature and potentiality. People living in the plains develop a characteristic which differs from that of the people in oceanic regions or from that of hillsmen. The early Aryan settlements had developed in the deserts and rugged mountain regions of Central Asia and North-Western India. Gradually the settlements moved East and "Dhruva Madhyadesha", the heart of the Indian plains became the Aryan homeland. The "Doab" i.e. the Ganga-Jumuna valley watered by numerous rivers gave the agricultural Aryan settlements the advantages of a fertile soil. Nature's bounty relieved the people of the hard struggle for existence against barrenness. The thinkers and seers could now devote themselves to higher spiritual pursuits. Dr. Radha Krishnan observes, "for thinking minds to blossom, for arts and sciences to flourish, the first condition necessary is a settled society providing security and leisure." This came true of the Indo-Aryans. Their struggle against non-Aryans had ended in a synthesis. Their nomad life was transformed into settled agrarian life in an environment of plenty.

Endowed with reasoning, thinking and curiosity, the Rishis could now engage in search for Truth. The sylvan beauty and quiet grandeur helped their free thinking and speculative mind. The output was the Vedas, Vedangas, Aranyaka, culminating in the Upanishadas. Educational development went parallel with this literary development.

(5) The social system regulates the educational system. The early Aryans had established small colonies. Political stability and the rise of powerful kingdoms was an achievement of the Later Vedic stage. Social divisions became formalised in 'Varnasrama' and social values and norms became conventionalised. "Education according to Varna" became a principle. Social and philosophical factors Gradually, the caste divisions led to vocational differentiations. The result was the growth of vocational education. The system of education became stereotyped to fit in with the stereotyped society.

(6) Last to mention, but the most potent factor, however, was ancient Indian philosophy which we should discuss in greater details.

Ancient Indian Philosophy

Educational thinking in every country and in every age is unmistakably influenced by the philosophy of life of the people of the particular country and the particular age. In ancient India, the philosophy propounded by the Rishis controlled educational concepts and aims.

The One and Unique Supreme Being (Vishnu-Purusha) expressed Himself in manifold forms to enjoy the beauty of creation and to fulfil His purpose. The Unlimited and Immeasurable became limited and measurable. The Eternal and Abstract subjected Himself to sense perception. Man is but one of the manifold manifestations of the Supreme. Hence he is a part of the universal whole. By self-realisation and self-fulfilment man can contribute to the fulfilment of the universal purpose behind creation. This was the kernel of ancient India's philosophic thought. (Of course, divergent views were not lacking because there were various schools of philosophy viz Sankhya, Vaisheshika etc. Some of them like the Charvak school were non-conformist)

The One became many. He destroyed and created at will. The eternal cycle of birth, life and death kept the wheels of the Universe ceaselessly evolving. Man is subject to this cycle. He has to live a

limited earthly life, and die an inevitable death. If only he can control his passions and worldly senses, he may free himself from limitations and merge with the Unlimited.

The Indian Rishis opined that detachment and separation from the Universal is real death. Individuation means decay. Obviously the Rishis held that reunion with the Supreme is the ultimate aim of life. To find out the real meaning of existence, to conquer decay and death, to rise above decay and individuation by merger with the Absolute is the ultimate fulfilment of life.

Philosophy of Education

The philosophy of ancient Indian education was drawn from the basic philosophy of life as discussed above. The expression 'Veda' means knowledge. By acquiring and applying this knowledge may one attain the world of spirit and the Absolute. This theory of knowledge together with the accompanying values and modes of life constituted the basic elements of educational philosophy in ancient India. Self-realisation would come through meditation; the eternal truth would be attained by Tapasya, and acquisition of ultimate knowledge by revelation would lead to Moksha. Hence real wisdom meant the knowledge of the ultimate. The ultimate aim of education was self-realisation, for realisation of the Absolute Self, by self-control and detachment from hedonistic life. To attain freedom and detachment of the mind from worldly bonds one must practise Yoga and meditation to control passions. This is Chitta-Britti-Nirodha. Self-realisation comes at such a stage. Hence Chitta-Britti-Nirodha may be termed as the Brahmanic philosophy of education.

Educational Concepts

The educational concepts were directly drawn from educational philosophy. Ignorance is bondage, and knowledge is deliverance. Education, therefore, means acquisition of truth and wisdom; illumination in the mental world to wipe out the darkness of ignorance: it leads the learner from the dungeon, through the path of light, to the land of eternal brilliance; it means freedom from bondage and captivity. It means salvation and bliss. And salvation is not attainable only by knowing the truth. By practice and application knowledge becomes wisdom, and wisdom is transformed into power. To explore the inner self by the power of meditation is

education. Evidently, lifelong effort for self-realisation and self-development was education in ancient Indian concept.

Aims of Education

The basic aim of Vedic education was self-sacrifice and salvation. The concept of *Three Debts* was the sourcefount of such aim. Man's incumbent duty was to attain freedom from debts to Parents, the Gods, and the Rishis by acquiring parenthood, by performing Yajra and by perpetuating the quest for knowledge. The performance of sacrifices would lead to self-realisation, through which man might realise the Universal which was Brahma. That was considered as Salvation.

But the Vedic seer was not averse to the performance of worldly duties, because the worldly life as ordained by the Supreme was purposeful. The Supreme might be attained only after a meaningful journey across the stretch of temporal life. Hence they recognised the imperative duties of the individual. Education was explained variously as Adhyayana, Siksha and Vinaya because instruction, training and social motivation were integral parts of education.

The philosopher was conscious of social and civic duties. Hence he urged upon the pupil to fulfil his responsibilities as a son, a husband, a father and a social being. This was the basis of the Chaturasram scheme. The recognition of social duties led to the acceptance of political or military science, laws, medicine and vocational preparation as curricular subjects. Moral living was more valued than inert knowledge. Morality and self-purification came through Brahmacharya.

'Education for salvation' simultaneously with 'education for worldly living' led to bifurcation of curricular organisation. Knowledge for salvation was Para Vidya. Knowledge of worldly affairs was Aparā Vidya. Para Vidya and Aparā Vidya together made complete education.

Periodisation

The Vedic-Brahmanic age of education may be broadly divided into 3 phases on the basis of special characteristics caused by social and political changes.

The long period from about 2000 B.C. to 300 B.C. may be generally designated as the Vedic phase. This long phase may again be sub-

divided into Rg Vedic phase, Later Vedic phase and Sutra phase. Best contributions of the total period were the Vedas, Vedangas, Vedantas and Sutra literature.

The period from 300 B.C. to the post-Mourya days was the second phase. The impact of Buddhism infused a new element. Successive foreign invasions in the post-Mourya era also caused further changes in both Brahmanic and Buddhist education.

The period from the Sunga age to the downfall of Kanauj and the advent of Turko-Afghan power may be called the third phase. Resurgent Brahmanic education, its co-existence with Buddhist education, growth of factions within Buddhist fold, interaction between the two systems characterised this phase. Foreign travellers recorded nice accounts of education in this era. By the end of the Ancient period, the Buddhist system went into oblivion. The Hindu system continued through the Middle Ages.

Growth of a System of Education

The Vedic concept of life found expression in Vedic "Mantra". The hymns of the conscious mind in praise of the Creator and for offering oblations, were the Mantras. In the
Mantra ancient days, the spiritual, the temporal and the ceremonial aspects of life were mingled in one. Hence Mantra had three meanings—spiritual knowledge, knowledge of the objective truth and knowledge of sacrificial rituals.

The institution of 'Sacrifice' (*Yajna*) was the centre of early Vedic social and religious life. Through hundreds of years of experience in life's struggle, the early Aryans developed the belief
 Origin of education that the powerful elements of nature governed their life and determined their existence. Hence they deified the elements of nature like the Sky, the Sun, the Atmosphere, the Soil, Fire etc, and sang praises through hymns. These hymns were the *Mantras*, and the collections of hymns were the *Samhitas*. In the form of *Yajna*, they offered oblation in honour of the elements by uttering and singing propitiatory hymns. As was natural for the agrarian Aryans, the Sun received the greatest attention and was characterised in various ways. So also were Indra and Baruna. Occasionally the Aryan thinkers wanted to rise above the phenomenal reality and catch a glimpse of the God-Head. 'Agni' for sometime was considered the "head of

the deities". In course of the development of civilization, the hierarchy of Gods changed many a time.

The priests who performed the sacrifices moulded religion, philosophy, sciences and social organisation. They were the custodians of Mantras and Samhitas. With the progress of time and complex development of sacrificial rituals there was an inevitable job-division in the priestly order, leading to specialisation and hierarchy. The '*Ritvik*' who uttered the '*Rik*' (the sacrificial Vedic Hymns) became the '*Hota*'. The *Hota* specialised in the *Rg Veda*. Simultaneously with '*Ahava*' were sung some ritual songs, compiled in the *Sama Veda*. The priest who specialised in the musical *Sama Veda* was designated as '*Udgatri*'. Compilation of the process of rituals accompanying the '*ahava*' constituted the '*Yajurveda*'. The priest who specialised in ritual formulae and practical guidance to manual work was designated as *Adhhvarju*.

Yajna and Educational specialisation

It is clear then, that education was first general, and specialisation was a gradual and normal process of development. The three Vedas represented three fields of specialised learning and training. The complex sacrificial performance required coordination between *Hota*, *Udgata* and *Adhhvarju*. This gave rise to another field of specialisation represented by the *Brahmana*. The priest who specialised as coordinator was designated as *Brahma*. The evolution of Vedic literature did not stop here. The metaphysical tone given by the *Rishis* to the sacrificial rituals became the subject matter of the *Aranyakas*. The *Aranyakas* constituted a transition to *Vedanta-Upanishadas*, the highest stage of Brahmanic learning and the cream of ancient Indian culture.

The Vedas, *Brahmana*, *Aranyakas*, *Vedanta* were not the only subject-matter in Brahmanic learning. The Mantras had to be recited in correct rhythm, pronunciation, phonetical sound and in meaningful understanding, together with perfect rituals. This led to the development of six *Vedangas*—*Siksha* (phonetics), *Chhanda* (the science of rhyme and metre), *Vyakarana* (grammar), *Nirukta* (etymology), *Jyotisha* (astrology), *Kalpa* (law and rituals). These 6 fields again became fields of specialisation.

Specialisation did not end here. Indian Geometry and Arithmetic developed in aid of perfect construction of the sacrificial dias. Astronomy helped the drawing up of time table for sacrifices. Anatomy

and Botany helped the perfect selection and performance of 'Bala', and linguistics developed in aid of the perfect use of Vedic language. These fields of specialisation further expanded in course of time and thereby expanded the field of education.

The System of Education

The call of the Eternal had reached the Indian Rishis. With the removal of darkness before them, and with heavenly illumination, the Rishis realised that all men are children of the Eternal. Hence they wanted to illumine the vista of all men with heavenly light. They called upon them all to attain that light of knowledge. Pupils responded and thronged to the preceptors. The cottage of each Guru became a residential school —the Gurukul. Students received the constant company of the Guru, who, in the absence of books was a human ocean of learning and an ideal character for the pupil to emulate. Succession of teachers and pupils ensured the continuation and expansion of knowledge. This explains the unbroken continuity of Indian Civilisation since then.

During residential pupilage the student had to live a controlled life determined by the institution of *Brahmacharya*. Education was a mode of life characterised by self-control. Hence equal emphasis was placed upon teaching, training and character building. Constant company of the teacher and fellow students guaranteed the attainment of these objectives.

All teachers were not ascetics. In fact, most of the Gurukuls were located in populated Janapadas. A cluster of Gurukuls was called an Agrahar Centre.

The daily life of the student was regulated by a round-the-clock time table and inviolable rules and regulations. There were no tuition fees. The student had to contribute his manual labour which in turn helped his physical and mental perfection, developed his social sense, as well as advanced the prosperity of the school. Instruction was individual, but school life was collective. Although away from his own family, the student did not live a life void of the finer touches of family life. The teacher was a father-substitute, a real friend, philosopher and guide. The teacher, a man not only of learning but also of character, imparted education for complete living.

The ancient *Gurukul* conformed to the pattern of ancient Indian education which again conformed to the ideals of life. This had ensured a long life for the Gurukul as an institution. Neither the Monastery of mediaeval Europe, nor the Buddhistic Vihara, and nor again the Aaramik School of the present day is comparable with the Guruku¹. The present efforts are but faint imitations of, and an unsuccessful effort to revive the past.

A well defined and significant succession of rituals as well as rules of conduct and discipline controlled the academic and extra academic life of the pupils. Educational life began with Vidyarambha followed by Chudakarma rituals. Formal initiation and admission to the Gurukul was marked by the Upanayana ceremony Upanayana being compulsory for all children of the three upper castes, education, by implication, was compulsory and universal in their respect. The period of studentship was by its nature a period of compulsory Brahmacharya. Relation between teacher and pupil was also regulated by a system of reciprocal duties and rights. In a system of education without tuition fees, there could be no question of commercial relationship between teacher and pupil. Obviously, the teacher enjoyed a high academic and social prestige.

The curriculum was basically organised on the firm foundation of the Vedas, Vedangas and Vedanta in succession. Gradually, however, it acquired more masses and diverse interests including secular and popular studies. Specialisation came into vogue and differential curricula were organised for the different castes. Teachers became specialised to feed the specialised schools. Professional and vocational education befitting the different castes was standardised. Moreover, theory and practice went together. There was no formal education for the Sudras and Vratyas. They received practical training in their family trade or profession as members of the family production units.

The Gurukul had its annual calendar as also the daily time table. Working days, study hours, time and methods were prefixed. Natural calamities, inauspicious phenomenal signs or other reasonable grounds led to suspension of studies for the day.

Since knowledge had to be delivered by the mouth, received by the ear and preserved in memory, the art of recitation with proper accent, sound and pronunciation was perfected. Yet it was not simply

learning by rote in the ordinary sense of the term. Learning by heart without conceptual understanding was considered worthless. The truth had to be realised. This required concentrated thinking and meditation leading to revelation. Doubts were cleared by intelligent questions and answers.

Method of
teaching

Moreover, wisdom was not a matter of intellect only. It required feeling and being. Hence, precondition to real wisdom was annihilation of doubts and wordly illusions, which could be attained through self-control, Yoga and Samnyasa. Evidently, Yoga was simultaneously the road to discipline, morality and absolute knowledge.

A student had to live this rigorous life for 12 years which was generally the period of formal studenthood. Of course informal studenthood was a lifelong process. In this case self-study was the method. The Samavartana (convocation) was held at the end of 12 years if the teacher thought that the student was fit for graduation.

Terminal
function

Snatakas (Graduates) were of three types—(i) Vidya Snatakas i.e. those who had attained intellectual proficiency, (ii) Vrata Snatakas i.e. those who had attained perfection in practices and (iii) Vidya-Vrata Snatakas i.e. those who excelled in both theory and practice. The Snataka left the Gurukul, but acquired further intellectual proficiency by participating in debates, discussions and assemblies. Debating tours constituted the real termination of formal pupilship.

Buddhistic Education

Brahmanic education alone does not represent our educational heritage. A great role was played by the Buddhistic system of education too.

As Brahmanic education was a product of Hindu Philosophy, so was Buddhistic Education a product of Buddhistic Philosophy. The latter did not simply follow the former, nor was it a substitute. Buddhist education arose even when Hindu education had been enjoying its glory. Buddhism arose as a rebellious child of Hinduism, as a reforming doctrine, in protestation against glaring anomalies in Hindu faith and society. Buddhistic education co-existed with Hindu education for a pretty long period. With the resounding call of Triple Refuge affecting the whole of India, Buddhist system of education also became a mighty one. The two systems co-existed, competed, inter-acted and supplemented each other.

With the growth of complexities in the Hindu Scheme of socio-religious life, particularly the firm establishment of the caste system which kept religious rites out of bounds for the lower castes and poorer classes, an urge for reformation became growingly evident. Even a hundred years before the advent of the Buddha, there had arisen numerous reforming circles. By that time, the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas had become socio-economically powerful castes. Absolute Brahmanic domination became a target of attack. These contradictions had to be settled. The Buddha showed the way by acknowledging equal rights to religious rites. Instead of the superiority of the ruler, the Veda or the Brahmin, he propagated the superiority of *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Sangha*. What was this Dharma? It was nothing absolutely new. The Buddha himself was reared in the Hindu society and instructed by Hindu preceptors. He did not claim to have propounded a new faith altogether. In fact, Buddhism arose in the Hindu socio-religious context as a reformist school of thought.

Buddhism, like Hinduism, believed in immortality of the soul. Hinduism had in a thousand ways preached the removal of the veil of darkness and called for self-expression. Bondage of desires inhibited self-expression and self-fulfilment. The Buddha also thought likewise and showed the path to self-fulfilment. His method, however, was basically different.

As a reasoned answer to His search for the causes of bondage, decay, sorrow and death, the Buddha had the revelation that man can attain salvation only by realising his self and expressing his soul. Hence He called upon man to accept some injunctions and practise some *Shilas*. To abjure greed, envy, violence and luxury and the like were *Shilas*. Habitual practice of *Shilas* would remove the veil, and expose the pure inner spirit. The nature of this inner soul is kindness and love for everything in the universe. Hence, the basic doctrine of Buddhism was salvation from the cycles of birth, not by Tyaga only, but by service and love.

Buddhism's call was thus a straight and simple one. It reached the ordinary man who could practise the *Shilas*. Not to kill a living object, not to steal anything, not to tell a lie and similar other practices were *Shilas* which everyone had within his power to observe

and practise and thereby attain salvation. In the place of ceremonial rites of Hindu Karmayoga, Buddhism now preached the goal of *Nirvan* by vanquishing sorrow and decay through the path of self development and self purification. Acceptance of Shilas and the *Eight Noble Paths* became easy for the common man. The Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas became patrons of this reforming doctrine. By challenging the super-human origin of the Vedas and by claiming abolition of caste distinctions, Budhism became a popular religion of the masses.

Yet, it is to be remembered that Buddhism had not arisen as a movement for social reforms. It had started as a movement for reforming the doctrines. But its simple theories, its antagonism to casteism and its universal appeal made it a popular faith. Social life was vitally affected by the movement. The momentum of mass popularity led to the rise of the Mahayana form of Buddhism. This social impact vitally affected the Buddhist system of education.

As in Hindu thought so in Buddhist thought salvation from this world and worldly life is the basic objective. Both the doctrines admit of 4 *noble truths* that there is sorrow, cause of sorrow, end of sorrow and Nirvan (Moksha). But the basic difference between the two is that the Buddhists do not admit of any Gd. In the Hindu concept of life, salvation comes through successful completion of life's mission by discharging duties and responsibilities. This led to the Chaturasram scheme of life. But the sole aim of Buddhist life and education being the attainment of Nirvan, there is little value attached to family life. Moksha is the desired end. Hence morality, service and disciplined Sangha life free from worldly bonds constituted the basic pillars of Buddhist education. Hindu Philosophy propounded reunion with the Absolute and freedom from cycles of birth, as a main aim of education. Buddhism also repounded the end of cycles of birth, the path being not reunion with God, but complete negation of desires, which meant Nirvan. This explains why in place of the preceptor's home, the Vihara became the Buddhist educational institution, for self control and meditation was better facilitated in Vihara life. The Viharas were the centres of the Orders of Monks. Monks trained up future monks. The trainee was subjected to the discipline of the Order.

The student who took the vow of Triple Refuge was initiated through the *Pravajja* ceremony. This was the beginning of preparation for going out from worldliness to worldlessness. Democratic and Secular element Students from all castes could seek *Pravajja*. Non-Brahmins could be teachers. The Samanera or Pavvajit had to observe ten rules of conduct and subject himself to ten injunctions.

Although the Vihara was open to all comers, there were certain restrictions to admission. Immoral, immodest, diseased or invalid persons, or employees of the State, soldiers, debtors and slaves were kept out. Even the eligible candidates had to secure parental consent. This was a device to save the Vihara from its degenerating into a refuge for escapists. It reflected a moral recognition of the purity of socio-political institutions.

Teachers in the Viharas were of two categories. Instruction in the scriptures was imparted by the *Upadhyaya*. *Acharya* (or Karmacharya) was the guardian of moral life, a modern prototype of which is the office of Prefect of Discipline. Paternal relation with both of them was enjoined. Apart from academic and spiritual training, the teachers were responsible also for the physical well being of the novice. A man of unblemished moral character, possessing unflinching faith in learning and salvation, free from bondage of vices and possessed of modesty and perseverance could be a teacher. The vital responsibilities carried on by the teachers were reciprocated with disciplinary rights which included expulsion of the unfit student. This, of course, did not mean arbitrary application of powers. There were well defined grounds of punishment. On the other hand, in spite of fidelity and reverence the student might leave the teacher if the latter did extreme wrongs particularly affecting the interest of the Sangh. In fact, the interest of the Sangh superseded everything.

Historically considered, small groups of pupils in the care of Upadhyayas were the Buddhist schools. In course of time, these small units were federated into bigger Sanghas. These were the Viharas. Thus, the Viharas were corporate bodies of teachers and students. Fullfledged Buddhistic education was a contribution of the Viharas. Success of a federated organisation depended upon democratic administration. Interdependence, adjustment, discipline and 'middle path' in a monk's life

were the cornerstones of success. Democratic teaching practices found expression in debating sessions and conferences of Vihara-chiefs. Highest knowledge might be acquired by attending such sessions. Moreover, the Viharas were self-sufficient organisations. Arts and crafts including vocational practices formed integral parts of education in the Vihara.

The significance of Vihara-centric education was education for monkhood. Moral purity and aversion to greed formed the basis of Vihara life. The method of the former was celibacy, and that of the latter was poverty and asceticism. Self imposed poverty was therefore

an essential element. Begging was compulsory.

Education for
monkhood

Rules of begging, eating and drinking and even the diet chart were specifically ordained. Luxury was

abjured. Moreover, 'service' was the greatest religious duty of the monk. There could be no question of indiscipline in a system of education guided by such principles of life. As in the Hindu system, so in the Buddhist system, education was synonymous with discipline.

Buddhist Education had started as education for monkhood. But, as Buddhism acquired mass popularity, so did Buddhist education acquire a mass character. Education became ultimately organised at three levels—education of monks, education of family men and

education of the masses. The curriculum for monk's

Evolution of the
system

education was based upon Sutta, Dharma and Vinaya Pitakas. Gradually a part of Brahmanic learning

and secular studies was incorporated. The 'Milinda Panho' throws light upon the extensiveness of the curriculum. It is evident from Jataka stories that with the adoption of diverse studies, there was the advent of election of subjects. Specialised colleges were brought into existence, as had happened at Taxila. There was a happy combination of scriptural and humanistic studies. Hieu-en-Tsang observed how the growth of the *Mahayana School* on the one hand, and Hindu resurgence on the other, made further changes in curricular organisation. The advent of multiple factions within the Buddhist fold brought about further changes, particularly the adoption of Lokayatas. Buddhist education no longer catered to the needs of the monk alone for scriptural instruction. Household men also depended upon the Vihara. For secular instruction, they depended even upon extra-Vihara agencies. In the long list of secular subjects medicine, law, arts and crafts, weaving and knitting etc. featured prominently. The

7 year medical course featured a combination of theory and practice. Taxila, Varanasi and Rajagriha were famous centres of medical education. Thus, Buddhist education ultimately combined spiritual and temporal, as well as philosophic and practical aspects of life.

Non-monk students were known as *Upasaka* (or *Upasika*). Even they were not free from specified duties. To live a modest life, to abjure contact with criminals, poison, intoxicating drugs, weapons etc, was compulsory for them. There was a long list of their duties to monks, teachers, parents and offspring. Renunciation was no longer compulsory. Many monks also liked secular education. Monks were also permitted to go back to worldly life. The Viharas had to provide for the Day-Scholar, known as *Manava*. Thus the Viharas ultimately became centres of learning for all comers.

In the Brahmanic system, education had been primarily meant for the three upper castes. But, the use of scripts and the arts of writing gradually facilitated the cause of mass elementary education.

The popular appeal of Buddhism furthered the cause of mass education. Education was now open to all castes, and teaching opened to non-Buddhists. In the Buddhist scheme, instruction started at 6+. Within 6 months thence the child had to complete his elementary course which was followed by more intensive practices in word and sentence making. By 8+ the child had to study the elementaries of Panini. For 3 years from 10+ the syllabus consisted of Shilas, Prose-writing, Jatakamala etc. Popular education included the five branches of study—i.e. Sabda, Silpa, Hetu Chikitsa, and Adhyatma Vidyas. The adoption of Prakrit as the medium of instruction advanced the cause of mass education. The Asokan edicts meant for the common people lead us to believe that popular education was widespread in the Buddhist system.

For the attainment of full monkhood, the novice had to pass through several stages, with which instructional methods were synchronised. At the first stage the basic method was recitation with emphasis upon rote, explanation, sermon and examination. Discussion was specially emphasised at the second stage, which was followed in the third stage by teacher-education. The last stage placed emphasis upon self-study. Fa-Hien records that inspite of emphasis upon oral

teaching and rote learning, special importance was attached to rational thinking and precision as well as discussions and debating skill. Such methods could not be painful, tyrannous or mechanical.

The mass character of Buddhist education created the problem of medium of instruction. The Buddha had himself advised culture of the mother tongue. The *Prakrit* languages thereby acquired importance. Royal patronage made *Pali* an all-India language, and its claim for acceptance as medium of instruction was largely recognised. In the post-Sunga period, however, there was a reassertion of Sanskrit which made its way into the Viharas too. The two languages—Pali and Sanskrit were simultaneously cultured. Fa-Hien himself studied Sanskrit for three years and Hiu-en-Tsang witnessed the importance of Sanskrit and Brahmanic learning. In the last stages of Buddhist education, Sanskrit was largely accepted as the language of the elite, while Pali continued to be the language for popular education. Education of the monk still demanded 12 year residential pupilage which was terminated by the *Upasampada* ceremony conferring monkhood upon those who renounced the world.

Salient Features and Estimate of Brahmanic Education

(a) Brahmanic education was a product of the religious, social, political, economic and environmental conditions of Vedic-Brahmanic Indian life. (b) The concepts of education represented a synthesis of spiritual and temporal needs as propounded by the thinkers of the day. (c) The ultimate aim of education was salvation and attainment of Truth by self-realisation. Hence emphasis was placed upon morality, self-confidence and self-control. On the other hand due emphasis was placed upon social skill and duties. The concept of 3 debts synthesised the demands of the spirit, the body, the mind and the society. (d) The system of education evolved round the institution of sacrifice. *Varnasrama* and *Chaturasrama* gave it a distinctive character. Education was open to the three upper castes. Pre-school education was conducted by the parents. School education started at the age fixed for it. (e) Teacher's home was the school. Life long studentship was accepted as a matter of principle. The teacher enjoyed high esteem. Mutual rights and duties determined teacher-pupil relation. The

curricula had close connection with Varnasrama. (f) School life was controlled by rituals, Brahmacharya, begging, discipline and principles of morality. The Samavartana meant termination of Brahmacharya and commencement of household life. (g) Sravana, Manana, Nididhyasana were the methods of learning ; Yoga was the supreme stage. Instruction was individualised, but debating and discussions were valued. (h) Women enjoyed educational privileges. (i) Gurukul Parishada, Asrama, Chatuspathi and Tol were the educational institutions. The preceptor was the final evaluator. There was no external examination. (j) The society and the state patronised education which was, in the main, free of tuition fees. State patronage did not mean state control. The teacher was the sole arbiter of things. (k) Due to the institution of Varnasrama education of the masses had suffered in the early phases. But gradually popular, practical and vocational education made itself felt in the total scheme.

True it is that Brahmanic education was stereotyped and determined by religious concepts and rituals. Casteism had made it narrow in some respects and conservatism was one of its features. Yet, there is no denying that like ancient Indian culture it had a great absorbing and synthesising capacity. It changed with changes in society and polity. In face of internal and external influence it adopted the twin

Synoptic estimate
of the Brahmanic
system

measures of absorption on the one hand, and conservative defence of the core of culture on the other hand. It met the spiritual, temporal and practical demands of life. In a Varnasramic society it responded to the social needs, although our modern thinking may decry Varnasrama. Succession of preceptors and disciples in the Gurukul system ensured the continuity of the system. It is undeniable that superior knowledge was attainable by a limited circle of elite. Yet, the strength of that hard core ensured its long life inspite of foreign impacts and internal upheavals. Moreover, the teacher being the sole determinant, political catastrophe could not mutilate the system. Quantitative and qualitative variations in patronage, however, caused ebbs and flows.

In course of time, however, Hindu education lost many of its good features. The Gurukul institution, supremacy of the teacher, teacher-pupil relation, social role of education, 'free' education provided by the society, the concept of labour associated with Asrama, individual fulfilment, the educational privileges of women, spiritual and moral

urge for education and similar other features had to be compromised to a great extent.

Such deterioration had its reasons too. The rise of Buddhism and external invasions caused the loss of many features. The advent of state-patronised Islamic culture and education caused a further crisis at a time when it enjoyed little state help. Yet, with its roots in the soil, the Hindu system of education co-existed with Islamic education all through the middle ages, although it had lost much of its vitality. Little, with the advent of a commercial economy in the modern era and the concomitant socio-political changes, and changes in ideology, there was little chance of its virile living any longer.

Salient features and estimate of Buddhistic Education

(a) Buddhist education arose as a corrective and reforming movement. Buddhist philosophy determined education. Preparation for monkhood was the essence of education. The ultimate aim was to attain salvation by renunciation. (b) In the context of the denial of Vedic-Brahmanic supremacy and Varnasrama, the principle of universal education was largely adopted. (c) Although early education was a matter of the home, proper schooling was a prerogative of the Vihara. The teacher was the student's guide to salvation. Hence, the teacher's supremacy and his paternal role was recognised in this system too. (d) The early Buddhist curriculum consisted mainly of the scriptures, but gradually it acquired a secular bias. Popular education including practical, vocational and elementary education secured due prominence. (e) The Sangha Schools had distinctive rituals, laws and rules of conduct and discipline. Instruction was individual, but collective discussions were much valued. Prakrit as the medium of instruction helped the spread of education. Sanskrit was subsequently much valued. (f) The federated Vihara was the main institution. Education was 'free' of tuition fees. International appeal, more democratic organisation, humanism and the principle of service were important aspects of Buddhist education.

In the Pre-Christian era, Brahmanic education had a monopoly sway. In the first few centuries of the Christian era Buddhist education asserted itself. Since the 4th century A.D. again Hindu education was resurgent. For several centuries thereafter, the two systems co-existed, competed, inter-acted and supplemented each other. With Turko-Afghan invasion, Buddhistic system of education faced

destruction, while Hindu education maintained its existence, although, with reduced splendour. Evidently, 'ancient Indian education' encompasses both Hindu and Buddhistic education. The two together made a whole pattern.

Although Buddhist education ceased to exist in India, its contributions cannot be overestimated.

In the Brahmanic era education had been monopolised by Brahmins. Buddhistic education challenged that predominance, established education on a popular basis and made mass education a responsibility of the society. Education was now institutionalised. Five thousand Viharas spread the light of knowledge far and wide. The value of secular education was recognised. The adoption of the people's language solved the problem of medium and simultaneously carried education to the people.

Buddhist education was not simply an intellectual education. Its essence was service to humanity. With this humanist content it crossed the borders of India and transformed the Indian universities into international centres of learning. Cultural contact was made with Ceylon, Java, Bali, Sumatra, Cambodia, Mongolia, Tibet and Central Asia. India secured an honoured place in international culture. Yet, in its country of origin, the system went out of existence, and traditional Hindu education continued to exist, although Buddhist education made a stable foothold in other countries. Obviously there were reasons behind this.

The rise of Buddhist education had affected Hindu education in two ways. The latter, on the one hand adopted defensive measures.

On the other hand it tried to assimilate and absorb the rival. Hindu religion was reformed. Saiva and Vaishnava faiths created a new impetus. Rituals were liberalised and Sanskrit language was reformed. As against this, many sects arose in the Buddhist camp. The fundamentals of Buddhism were to some extent compromised. Internecine conflicts weakened the Buddhist system of education. In the Hindu system, the preceptor was the custodian of knowledge. Succession of Gurus ensured the longevity of the Gurukul. In the Buddhist system, the mighty Viharas were centres of learning. With the destruction of a few Viharas, the total edifice crumbled down. The Hindu Gurukul was autocratically administered by the Guru, but the teacher-pupil relation was close

and warm. The Buddhist Vihara had an element of democracy, but its administration under a sort of oligarchy was rather slack. The individual monk had no right to property, but the Vihara Sanghas possessed immense material resources. Protected life within the Viharas made them the refuge of worthlessness. The Sangh thus failed to solve that very problem for the solution of which it had been called into existence.

Lastly it must be said that the religion of godlessness, puritanism and penance was not easily graspable by the ordinary man. The ordinary man wanted satisfaction through ceremonials. Moreover, the Buddhist curriculum became a second edition of the Hindu curriculum, with the major exception that Vinay and Tripitaka had replaced Veda-Vedanta. Medicine and Logic had been two specialities of Buddhist education. These two were admitted into the Hindu curriculum. Hence, Buddhist education gradually forfeited its claim to separate existence. The traditional Hindu education continued thereafter through changes and reforms.

Buddhist education had arisen as a reform movement. Its impact was great. It infused an element of secularism and universalism in Indian education. It infused a democratic element too. It played its historic role thereby.

Comparison between Hindu and Buddhist systems

Buddhism was born in the womb of Hinduism, not with the mission of destroying the latter, but with the objective of reformation. It was a new light, not a completely new thing. It inherited many of the Hindu theories. Obviously it had similarities with and indebtedness to Hinduism. Yet, it was a reforming doctrine. Hence, it had vital differences too. Acceptance of the 4 noble truths, the imperishability of the soul, and the concepts of rebirth and salvation caused the similarities. Rejection of God, the Vedas, the domination of Brahmins, Varnasrama and worldly life caused the dissimilarities.

Sangha life in Buddhist education was an adaptation of Asramik life. Monkhood was similar to Sannyas. The creed of non-violence was common to both. Fasting, self-negation and begging were features of similarity. Buddhist education valued moral life just as the Rishis had considered morality more valuable than abstract knowledge. That is why the ways of life in the Asram School and the Vihara were similar. The concept of Nirvan was equivalent to the concept of

Moksha, although the methods of attainment were different. Vidya-rambha was a common feature. Upanayana and Pravajja were comparable, although the detailed procedures were different. The life of a Brahmachari was comparable with the life of a Samanera. Both the systems provided "free" education. The concepts of self control and discipline were similar to each other.

Para and Aparā Vidya were combined in the Brahmanic scheme. Under the influence of Chaturvarṇa and Varnasrama professional and vocational education got a valued place. Hence spiritual and temporal aspects were gradually combined. Buddhist education was originally education for monkhood. But with the acquisition of a popular base, secular education including professional and vocational education was extensively incorporated. The differences in curricula were thus narrowed down. Both the systems enjoyed social patronage and royal help, but neither was subjected to state control. The teaching methods were also similar. And mention must be made of the similarity in teacher-pupil relation, although the democratic element in Buddhism liberalised the rights of the pupil. Such similarities inspired many scholars to observe that Buddhism was but a phase of Hinduism.

Dissimilarities again were equally natural. For doctrinal difference as discussed earlier, and for the rejection of Chaturvarṇa, the aims of student life were different. While the Brahmachari was prepared for subsequent Asramas of life, the Samanera was prepared for final renunciation. As a result, the ideas behind Samavartana and Upasampada were diametrically opposite. The Guru was the sole authority in conferring graduation, while monkhood was conferred by the Sangha.

As against Gurukul-based Brahmanic education, Buddhist education was Sangh-based. Each Gurukul was a property of the Guru concerned. The Vihara belonged to the Sangh. In fact, the democratic element was more reflected in Buddhist education than in the Hindu system. In the place of archaic Vedic Sanskrit the medium in Buddhist education was Prakrit, the language of the common man. Mass education was more indebted to the mass contact of Buddhism. Service being a principle of Buddhism, medicine and popular sciences received impetus in Buddhist education. On the other hand, Hindu education excelled in Mathematics, Astronomy and Astrology. The scope of women's education which had been wide in the Hindu system was narrowed down in the Buddhist system.

Buddhist education possessed some relatively liberal features viz. opposition to Varnasrama, a democratic base, recognition of the principle of universal education, more rational teacher-pupil relation, the concept of free discipline, secular mass education, acceptance of new subjects of study, collective residential school and Sangh society, mighty universities and international humanistic appeal. These were features of advancement. This explains why the Buddhistic system of education had existed as a competitor to Brahmanic education for several centuries.

CHAPTER II

SOME ASPECTS OF ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATION

(1) The place of religion in ancient Indian education.

Education develops according to the genius of the people. The genius of India, like that of many ancient civilisations had a strong component of religious fervour, although it was undogmatic.

Religion according to Phyllis Doyle, is recognition of the transcendental, a communion with the Divine Entity. Evelyn Underhill considers it as worship in response to inner urge. Catherine Fletch holds that faith in religion is faith in good purpose, the feeling of beauty, delight and wonder. Swami Vivekananda calls it the expression of godliness inherent in man, an inward transformation of the self. Dr. Radhakrishnan also places emphasis upon the inner self and the undying soul of the individual believer.

These ideas closely resemble those of ancient Rishis. Their spiritual disquiet created an inner urge for a constant search for Truth. They discovered *four noble truth of life* and developed the concept of salvation. The principles of life which helped the attainment of salvation constituted Dharma i. e. Religion. Religion consists of regulating principles in each sphere of life. It is a total configuration implying morality, virtue and duty. True religion is, therefore, a force which unites man with man.

Religion is, therefore, a practice of life emanating from theory i.e. fundamental principles of life. Its perspective in ancient India was *Mukti*. The aim was merger with the Absolute to escape decay, for individuation meant decay and death. Hence, religious influence made education the education of the mind i.e. *Chitta Vritti Nirodha* to attain self fulfilment. The method was *Yoga*.

In the first phase, the Rishis discovered godliness in the elements of nature. They offered prayers and held yajnas to propitiate the Sun, Indra, Paruna, Agni. The hymns of prayer constituted the curriculum. Sacrificial rituals led to the development of Vedangas and allied sciences. And lastly, the Vedanta which contains the cream of Indian thought was also a product of metaphysical genius. But, at the root of everything was the Yajna, which was primarily religious in nature.

The terms Veda, Brahmana, Mantra, Ahava, Yajna, Bali, Jagat, Virata Purusha, Bhu-Bhuva-Sva were all conceptually religious.

Discipline in ancient Indian education had also a religious content. Attainment of the ultimate educational goal was possible through "*Tapa*" and "*Diksha*". It meant realisation through "*Samadhi*". Real knowledge meant knowledge of Atman attained by revelation. It presupposed annihilation of desire and illusion through '*Sannyasa*' and '*Yoga*'. Even the Epics placed emphasis upon moral steadfastness and detachment.

Buddhism which arose as a reformation of Brahmanism believed in Atman, sorrow, deliverance and end of desire. Buddhism also believed in *Karma* and Rebirth. It too aimed at *Nirvan* through moral steadfastness and detachment. At the root of Buddhist education were the religious thoughts propounded by Buddhism, specially the concept of Renunciation. It is, therefore, not unjustified to comment that 'One unique feature of ancient Indian civilisation is that it has been shaped and moulded in course of its history more by religious influences than by political or economic consideration.' It must, however, be noted that social and economic forces worked behind the religious facade.

(2) The element of geographical influence upon ancient Indian education.

The process of life upon earth or even simple existence is determined by the inter-action of two factors—Man and Nature. Their relation developed through a process of struggle, victory, adjustment. Man has a double world—spiritual and material, the spiritual world depending upon material existence. Similarly, man has a double identity—body and soul. During struggle for mere existence, the body dominates. Victory in this struggle makes the soul dominant. Only then can finer senses, tastes, imagination and undisturbed thinking flourish in creativity. History provides ample evidence of this process—The Periclean age, The Shakespearean (Elizabethan) age, Kalidasa in the Imperial age of India, and the culturally productive Mughul age. The same had occurred in Vedic-Brahmanic India.

There is no reference to stately cities inhabited by early Aryans. They lived a nomadic clan life. There were inner-clan and inter-clan conflicts. The *Bharatas* had to wage a bitter struggle with the *Yadus*.

The Battle of Ten Kings, with which the name of Sudash is associated was a culmination of this process. Simultaneously, the early Aryans had to measure strength in external conflicts with indigenous tribes of non Aryans. The struggle-packed life of early Aryans was lived in the early settlements built in the rugged Oxus region. Such an unsettled life could not produce the finer arts.

The centre of gravity of the Aryan settlements gradually moved to "Dhruva Madhyadesha". The geographical area eventually occupied by them was watered by noted rivers like Kabul, Swat, Kurram, Gomati, Sindhu, Vitasta, Chenub, Ravi, Bias, Sutlej, Saraswati, Drishadhyati, Ganga, Jamuna, Saraju. Thus, early *Aryan-India* comprised of the territory extending from East Afghanistan to Sapta Sindhu.

The Aryans, now organised in family, Kula, Varna lived in scattered villages stratified into Grama, Visa, Jana. They had no 'Nagara'. With agriculture (Krishti or Chersani) as their principal occupation, and with anicnic religion the Aryans, now settled in a territory watered by swift-flowing rivers and with abundant beauty of nature, could indulge in poetry. Their emotional hymns were the Rik. Family settlements produced family books ascribed to Viswamitra, Vamadeva, Bharadwaja, Vasietha etc. Apart from this development in language and thoughtful literature this was also the beginning of a scientific spirit characterised by a search for cosmic laws.

In the Later Vedic age, the focal point of Dhruva Madhyadesha shifted farther, from the Saraswati to the Gangetic Doab. From here Aryan influence spread to outlying provinces. The outcome was the *gatha* type of literature.

The existence of many states had made the existence of many gods imperative. With political concentration arose the concept of one god denoted variously as the Omnipotent and Omnipresent Prajapati, Brahma, Paramatma etc. With the rise of powerful kingdoms, the centre of Brahmanical education shifted from Kuru Panchal to Kosala-Videha. Politically settled conditions now produced social stability including social stratification. On the other hand, nature's bounty and royal patronage freed the sages from material worries. They indulged in speculation. The *Spirit* became their prime consideration. This produced the glory of the Upanishads.

Sylvan schools were a special development in the Aranyaka period. Forest portions of the Brahmins point to the development of forest

life and the solitary little sylvan seats of learning to which we must chiefly ascribe the depths of speculation, the complete absorption of the mystic devotion by which the Rishis are so eminently distinguished. Metaphysical speculations had been carried on in the forests long before the names of Aranyaka or Upanishadas were thought of. But they were institutionalised now.

Six qualities were to be acquired in the hermitages. They were tranquillity (Sama), restraint (Dama), self-denial (Uparati), long suffering (Titiksha), collectedness (Samadhi) and faith (Sraddha). All this depended upon intellectual training, moral preparation, atmosphere of peace and tranquillity.

These developments justify the statement, "for thinking minds to blossom, for arts and sciences to flourish, the first condition necessary is settled society providing security and leisure."

This security was partly lost in the Sutra period which followed the Brahmanas. The rise of Buddhism and foreign invasions created the need for self defence and self preservation. This was sought through educational and social conservatism or through philosophical escapism. Panini refers to 3 types of philosophers—Astika (believer in life after death), Nastika (non-believer) and Daistika (rationalist, fatalist, pre-determinist).

This typical development caused firstly by settled and secure, and then by unsettled and insecure conditions of life justifies the observation made by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, as quoted above.

(3) Education in the Rg Vedic era

Rg. according to Max Muller is the most ancient of books. Yet, it represents not the dawn, but the meridian of Aryan culture. It is the foundation of Hindu thought, the basis of 'plain living,—high thinking', a monument to higher art of living.

The Rg, however, evolved in a process which corresponds to the evolutionary history of ancient Indian culture. The compilation of 1017 hymns, as considered by Bloomfield, Macdonell, Winternitz, took hundreds of years. The evolution was from concrete to abstract. In the editorial device, a strict adherence to the words was observed. The typical editorial technique was 'Padapatha' and 'Kramapatha' which led to the foundation of linguistics or metrics, i.e. *Siksha*. The compilation ended with 'Anukramanis'.

Six chosen Rishis were honoured with the revelation of Vedic knowledge. They were Gritsamada, Viswamitra, Vamadeva, Atri, Bharadwaja and Vasiṣṭha. With them were added six 'Mandalas'. Later additions were groups of hymns contributed by other families, hymns of Rishi Kanva, Soma hymns and miscellaneous hymns. The Rg. thus became a compilation of 1028 hymns and 10580 verses.

The Rg Samhita itself indicates two stages of literary and editorial activities. The first was the age of creation when the Rishis produced the hymns. The second was the stage of preservation in the form of Samhita. The second phase comprised of criticism, compilation and codification. "Tapas" was the method of learning. Direct realisation of Truth was possible through Tapas, which as explained by Sayana, consisted of austerity, sacrifice and penance. The Munis who were seers of 'Truth beyond the senses' lived in a state of "Samadhi". The truth attained by them required preservation and transmission. This depended upon sons and students of the "seers". The method and extent of teaching naturally varied with the learner's capacities. Sayana refers to three grades of students—Mahaprajna, Madhyama prajna, Alpa prajna.

The first step in learning was recitation of the Text. Utterance was artificially regulated by metres. Seven metres evolved thereby. Correct recitation was essential. The alphabet evolved in aid of recitation. But, it was not merely rote learning. Contemplation and comprehension were considered more important.

Vedic Sanskrit evolved out of the secular spoken language. It was the work of learned assemblies—Brahmana Sanghas. One hymn points out that the first step to education was cultivation of the Vernacular. Another hymn says that Sanskrit was hammered into shape by "assemblies". Such learned assemblies were held during sacrifices.

The small domestic school with residential pupils was the typical Rg Vedic institution. Brahmana Sanghas catered the highest type of learning. Yaska in Nirukta says that the teacher should avoid teaching isolated syllables. He should not teach pupils who possessed no knowledge of grammar, nor a non-residential pupil, nor one who was disqualified by lack of intelligence. Evidently, grammar had already evolved. And Brahmacharya which was a feature of residential pupilage was essential.

The prominent features of Rg Vedic education were—(a) Gurukul, (b) Moral fitness of pupils, (c) Brahmacharya as discipline,

(d) Paternal teacher-pupil relation which gave the teacher the inherent right to expel a pupil for non-fulfilment of duty.

Achievements of Rg Vedic education were tremendous. In the field of thinking and creativity the Rishis conceived of 33 Gods in 3 groups assigned to the three plains of the Universe, each of the 3 spheres being presided over by a deity who again was a manifestation of the Supreme Deity. This gradually led to the conception of a Supreme Being, the Absolute. In the field of scientific spirit, the Rishis developed a lively sense of immutable laws governing creation. They conceived of cosmic laws as roots of creation, operating regularly for all time. In the field of expressability, the Rishis developed the earliest stage of literary language.

Caste system was known to the Rg Vedic Rishis, but it was not rigid yet. Kshatriyas also became Rishis. Women were admitted to full religious rights and complete educational facilities. The non-Aryans and depressed classes were undergoing a process of assimilation. Yet, Rg Vedic education was not for the masses. The Vedangas—Siksha, Kalpa, Vyakarana, Nirukta, Chhanda and Jyotisha, however, laid the early foundation of secular studies.

The ideal of life and education as evolved by the Vedic Rishis became the established ideal of the country. The scheme of education amply served the scheme of social and individual life. The entire social matrix was controlled by Vedic principles, and Rg Vedic education was an inseparable part of that matrix.

(4) Education in the Later Vedic Period

The Brahmanas, the Aranyakas and the Upanishadas are sources of knowledge about education in the Later Vedic era. Aitareya, Sankhayana, Tandya Brahmanas; Aitareya, Kaushitaki Aranyakas; Aitareya, Kaushitaki, Chhandogya, Brihadaranyaka, Mundaka and other Upanishads throw much light upon the state of education in Later Vedic era.

Variety of educational institutions was a typical feature of the time. Sakhas, Charanas, Parishads, Kulas, Gotras were now well organised. Panini knew of 24 Vedic Charanas. Satapatha Brahmana refers to Svadhyaya as a method of studying the Vedas to attain Brahmanavachasa. Yet, a student could not go without a teacher, as is explicit in Katha-Upanishad and Mundaka Upanishad. Aitareya, Chhandogya

and Brithadaranyaka Upanishads insist upon Upanayana as a mark of formal pupilage. But instruction without formal pupilage was also in vogue. King Asvapati instructed 6 Brahmanas. Yajnavalkya instructed Maitreyi. They were not formal pupils of these instructors. The father also acted as a teacher, as is borne out by the story of Uddalaka and his son Svetaketu Aruni.

Normally, however, the student was admitted after Upanayana. The period of studentship was 12 years in general cases. Begging, tending fire, tending cattle and studying at fixed hours were the external duties of pupils. Inner discipline through Pratyasana for overcoming passions was also enjoined. Acquisition of higher knowledge did not end with the termination of formal pupilage.

Pursuit of knowledge was a life-long process. Gautama and Svetaketu Aruneya went to ether to king Pravahana Jaivali; Yajnavalkya instructed Maitreyi, Janaka, Gargi; Uddalaka Aruni went to Asvapati Kaikeya—all beyond the period of formal studentship.

The teacher's duties were now specified. He had to be more learned than the student. He must not conceal any part of knowledge desired and required by the pupil. He must teach heart and soul.

If a teacher failed to play his due part, the student might leave him in search of a better teacher. The teacher had to have a strong desire for pupils under him. Studentship was open to the first 3 castes. But teaching was no more a prerogative of the Brahmin. Some Kshatriyas acquired fame as teachers, whom Brahmins also approached for highest knowledge. King Janaka of Videha, King Ajatasatru of Kasi, King Pravahana Jaivali of Panchala, and King Asvapati Kaikeya were such Kshatriya teachers. Women also enjoyed educational rights and acquired fame for learning.

The subjects of study were now more numerous than they had been in the early Vedic period. Apart from Svadhyaya (*i.e.* Vedic study) there were Anusasana (Vedangas). Nyaya—Mimamsa,

Vakovakyam (theological discourses), Itihasa—
 Purana, Akhyana, Anvakhya, Anuvakhya, (explanation), Vyakhyan (commentaries), Gatha, Kshatra Vidya, Rasi (numbers), Nakshatra Vidya (Jyotish), Bhuta Vidya (demonology, magic, science of life), Sarpa Vidya, Daiva Vidya, Nidhi, Sutra (sacrificial rituals), Upanishad,

Ekayana (Niti sastra), Brahma Vidya (Vedanga—Devajana Vidya), etc. forming a vast curriculum. In spite of varied subjects, the supremacy of Para Vidya was insisted upon. Without Para Vidya everything was but words. The methods of study now became more scientific. Doubts had to be cleared by question, cross-question and answer. The three stages of Sravana, Manana, Nididhyasana were elevated to basic pedagogic principles. Yoga was required for the attainment of higher knowledge. Meditation would ensure revelation. Renunciation would come at the ultimate stage through Sannyasa.

Indian culture and civilisation drew inspiration from the achievements and services of famous teachers of the later vedic era. Ajatasatru of Kasi, Gautama, Asvapati-Kaikya, Aruueya Svetaketu, Uddalaka Aruni, Janaka, Dirgha Sravas, Pravahana Jaivali, Satyakama Jabala, Yajnavalkya and his wife Maitreyi were but a few of the galaxy of famous teachers of the time.

Three types of educational institutions were now firmly shaped—

- (1) The home of the teacher.
- (2) Debating circles and Parishads of which the most famous products are the Upanishads,
- (3) Conferences of learned men (very often convened and patronised by kings).

Royal
patronage

The territorial area where Later Vedic education was best shaped comprised of Kuru, Panchal, Kosala, Videha. Kuru King Janamejaya, Panchala king Kraivya, Videha (Mithila) king Janaka, Ajatasatru of Kasi, and kings of Matsya (Jaipur region), Kosala (Ayodhya) were most famous patrons. Sacrifices were held at Kurukshetra, Naimisa, Videha and on the banks of Saraswati, Drishadvati and Yamuna. These seats of sacrifices, often visited by Rishis on occasions of sacrifice, gradually developed into seats of learning. Similarly the courts of patron kings of Kasi, Matsya, Kuru-Panchal, Kosala, Videha became centres of learning. Sylvan schools also began to develop in this era.

Although para vidya was still held supreme and the Brahmins got preference, organised education of other castes began in right earnest.

Education
and
occupation

Their education was determined mainly by occupation. Members of one family might adopt different occupations and thereby were fit for different types of education. A Rg Vedic hymn mentions of a father being a physician, the mother being a grinder of corn, the son being a poet. Kshatra Vidya, Nitisastra, Dhanurveda etc. were emphasised in the education of Kshatriyas; Agricultural education in the case of

Vaisyas, and practical training in pasture, cattle rearing, arts and crafts in the case of Sudras.

Later Vedic Education showed a two fold path of (i) *Karma* and *Dharma* to preyas ; and (ii) *Jnana* to *Atman*. Inner life had to be controlled by *Upasana*, *Yoga*, *Anubhuti*, *Moksha*. Morality could come through annihilation of desires. The pupil must be *santa*, *danta*, *uparata*, and possessed of *dama*, *daya*, *sraddha*, *satyam*. Through *Yoga* would come *Maitri*. *Varnasrama* and *Chaturasrama* constituted the scheme of social and individual life.

(5) Education as revealed in Sutra Literature.

From the Rg Vedic period knowledge developed in three distinctive phases—(1) In the phase of *Chhandas*, the *Rishis* gave out their inspired thought. (2) The phase of *Mantra* was one of preservation. (3) The phase of *Brahmana* was that of systematisation and interpretation through commentaries. The *Sutra* followed the *Brahmana*.

By this time, internal upheavals and external invasions disturbed the tranquillity of Vedic life and educational system. Defensive measures required to be adopted for the preservation of accumulated knowledge. A mass of learning matter had already been acquired. But peaceful 12 year studenthood might not always be possible. Hence the need arose for simplified literature through summarisation. The *Sutrakars* were business like scientific students. In a popular style they retained the beauty and soul, but decimated the volume of literature. "Economy" was their battle cry. The outcome consisted of "*Smriti*", which included custom and law and was a common social possession, and "*Sruti*"—which included rituals and was a monopoly of the elite.

Sutra literature can be divided into many classes, viz—*Srauta Sutra* (ritual for *Yajamana*), *Grihya Sutra*, *Dharma Sutra*, *Sulva Sutra* (religious practices) etc. Together with Sutra literature, there was a more extensive development and integration of the Six *Vedangas*. Supplementaries represented further literary development, viz *Parishista* (Supplements), *Prayasa* (manual), *Paddhatis* (Guides), *Karikas* (ritual), *Anukramanik* (Indices).

The allied subjects of *Astronomy* and *Astrology* further developed in this period. Basically religion still shaped literature, but secular studies were also recognised as *Upa Vedas* (*Arthashastra*, an example). *Itihasa* *Puranas* had already become the fifth Veda. Learning having

become specialised, Sutra School with specialist teachers was a natural growth. Asvalayana and Sankhyayana were examples of such specialisation.

The system of education was now stereotyped in a typical framework as a counterpoise to social upheavals. Vidyarambha at 5 years became almost universal, and was open to all castes. This was followed by Chuda Karma (tonsure) which was again followed by Upanayana (for all three upper castes, under different rules). The age of Upanayana was 8 years for Brahmins, 11 years for Kshatriyas and 12 years for Vaisyas. Age of Upanayana varied according to particular aims of education. Theoretically the age was fixed according to capacities, aptitudes and choice of studies. The time for Upanayana was also different (as Apastambha says). For the Brahmin child it was the Spring, for the Kshatriya it was the Summer, and for the Vaisya it was the Autumn. Criminals and Sudras were not eligible (although Boudhayana admits them). For the upper castes it was made compulsory. Defaulters were "Savitripatita", and Manu calls them "Aputa". They had to face ostracism, although redemption was possible by expiatory ceremonies and penances. Evidently, education was universal and compulsory for the three superior castes.

The student's uniform comprising Ajina, Vasa, Danda, Mekhala, Ugravita row became formalised. Different uniforms were different, symbols of wishes, desires and aims of education. Detailed rules were now drawn for the Upanayana ceremony. Rules were framed for student's life (including food, begging, service, duties, restrictions, studies, period of studentship, academic session, change of teacher etc). Similarly rules were framed in respect of the qualifications and duties of teachers (teachers' grades—Acharya, Upadhyaya; obligations of teachers, punishment, remuneration etc.).

The rule of oral teaching continued as the method. It was still completely independent of external aid in writing. Memory was particularly cultivated. But there was a personal touch in education. The teacher controlled the spread of knowledge which was thus insured against risks. The teacher's obligation was to conserve and spread knowledge as its custodian. His home was still the basic school. Oral teaching required 12 years for mastery of a subject. Hence, a student studied one subject as a rule. Teaching was individual. Education under the Acharya was "free" although payment of fees for the Upadhyaya was not rare.

It was in this period that Educational Colonies developed in full strength and the Parishad as an institution of learning was firmly established. The Parishad was an academy of learned men. Lastly we should take note of the *Sutra Schools* which grew out of the original Vedic Schools or Charanas. In these schools of specialisation different subjects like Kalpa, Grammar, Nyaya, Jyotisha etc. were studied with specialised emphasis upon each.

The special features of education in Sutra period need be re-stated. The main aim of education was development of personality. Emphasis was still placed upon inner nature and character, and not merely intellect. Higher education was meant for the three upper castes. The Vedic tradition of Women's education continued. Women Rishis were called Brahnavadinis. (viz Ghosa, Lopamudra, Viswavara etc.) Initiation of girls was also formalised. Honorary teachers enjoyed academic freedom. Non-Brahmin teachers and men of learning were now not rare. (Janaka, Ajatasatru, Aswapati were examples). The three types of Suktika were now clearly distinguished. But in his farewell address during Samavartana, the teacher as usual said, "Apply thyself henceforth to other duties".

The Sutra period had established formalised education so firmly that its remnants continue to exist even today. The Vaidika sect of Brahmins reminds us of those specialists who carried a vast Vedic knowledge by heart, but could not perform sacrifices. The Srotriya sect represents those who were specialists in sacrifices i.e. Kriya. The Yajnikas were experts in Grihya Sutra. Similarly masters in the different 'Angas' like law, Grammar, Astronomy etc. earned titles of 'Tirthas'.

In this connection we may refer also to some information that may be culled from Panini and Kautilya. *Panini* refers to 4 classes of literature—(i) Drishtam (seen or revealed), (ii) Proktam (enounced), (iii) Upajna (discovered) and (iv) Ordinary composition of ordinary writers on any subject. A class of commentaries may be added to this list.

Katyayana and *Patanjali* add more types of literature viz Akshyana, Akshayikas, Itihasa-Purana etc. Charana, Gotra, Parishad and special schools are also mentioned by them. And *Kautilya* refers to *Trayi* (3 vedas) and specifically mentions Sankhya, Yoga and Lokayata.

(6) Education in the Epic Period

Punini refers to the Mahabharata and Yudhisthira. Patanjali mentions the character of the Epics. Kautilya refers to the fall of Ravana and Duryodhana. Evidently, the Epics had been existent in their days. In fact, it has been accepted on all hands that the Epics were shaped in a process, through a mode of editing.

The course of the literary development went parallel with the final formalisation of Hindu social structure on the basis of fixed principles and norms. Some prominent features of this development are worthy of note, viz (a) The growth of powerful kingdoms, leading ultimately to the rise of Empires, (b) concomitant importance of the Kshatriyas in social hierarchy, (c) stereotyped division of society into castes, (d) the rise of metropolitan and subsidiary towns (evident since the days of Kautilya and Megasthenes) and an urban influence upon culture, (e) urban life combined with caste structure led to the growth of varied vocations. Education in the Epic period conformed to these socio-political forms.

The principles underlying Varnasrama and Chaturasrama were now unequivocally enunciated. (1) Tender youth was the period fit for rigorous training and discipline, thereby purging impurities and imperfections, (2) Endowed with a sound mind and sound body the individual blossomed into manhood and was fit for household life. (3) With mature wisdom and moral steadfastness, he could, in the third stage, devote to collective life. (4) In the last stage of life, he could, with detachment and open mind towards the Universal and the Absolute, await the final end of a Cycle of Life. The first asrama was preparatory for the three subsequent asramas. This preparation was education. Hence content of education would vary according to ultimate ends. The ultimate ends being partly determined by Varnasrama and Varnasrama being now closely allied with vocational occupations, education became more practical and vocational than before.

The Mahabharata gives an account of the duties of different castes. For the Brahmin Brahmachari, for example, it enunciates four duties of studentship. (1) Parents only create the body, but the preceptor creates the spiritual entity. Hence it is the bounden duty of the student to emulate the teacher for spiritual salvation. The Preceptor is equivalent to parents. Hence the student must be devoted to him. He must fulfil the preceptor's desire by all means—body, mind, speech.

(2) This devotion should extend even to the preceptor's wife and children. (3) The student must properly realise the benefits conferred by the preceptor. (4) Hence, the student must not leave preceptor's house without repaying debt.

Capacity to fulfil these duties could be acquired by (a) natural growth of mental powers, (b) contact with preceptor, (c) pupil's own endeavour, (d) discussions with fellow students.

Eligibility for education was now subject to various conditions. The student must accept formal pupilship, take a vow and acquire purity of soul. Studies were selected in accordance with capacities of students. Ideal students were Uddataka, Arama, Kacha etc. Formal casteism led to the expansion of industrial and vocational education. Military and medical careers were now coveted. Industrial guilds and apprenticeship system were in vogue. Contemporary literature refers to 64 arts and vocational pursuits.

The growth of hermitages was a special phenomenon of this period. A full-fledged Ashrama had several departments viz Agnisthana (place of worship), Brahmasthana (place of study), Vishvamsthana (place for teaching political science), Mohendrasthana (military), Vivasvatasthana (astronomy), Sowasthana (botany), Garudasthana (transport and conveyance), Kartikeasthana (military organisation). It is claimed that Kulapati Sanaka's ashrama at Naimisharanya had as many as 10,000 students studying in various departments. Gorgeous sacrifices became an order of the day. Janmejaya and Janaka performed such ever finer Rishi assemblies on these occasions. Sometimes Kings visited the sylvan ashramas which received royal patronage.

Education of the Kshatriyas in accordance with their occupation was now highly organised. The Pandavas studied all the Vedas, various Sastras, Niti, Itihasa-Purana, Archery and other types of military arts. Drona taught them Dhanurveda in all its branches. Arjuna taught Abhimanyu and other princes on the same lines. Apart from studying family laws, word sciences, music, fine arts, legends etc. the princes had to acquire mastery in riding elephant and horse, and driving the chariot. The Mahabharata also refers to Sabdasashtra, Yuktiasashtra, Ayurveda, Nataka, Kavya etc. Educational institutions were conducted by private citizens too. The Rishis, however, led the field. Rishi Varadysaja's ashrama at Prayag, the biggest of the day was equipped with harmyas, prasadas, toranas and chhatrasalas,

Education of women was still extensive. Rishi Astavakra is known to have conversed with Brahmacharini. Wife of Gargya and daughter of Sandilya showed excellent learning; King Janaka had philosophical discourses with Brahmanaradas.

A typical urban culture was a special contribution of the time. Ayodhya was noted for its Vedic schools. There was no illiteracy among Brahmins of the city. There were associations of Brahmacharis (Mekhalidama Maha Sangha). They resided either in ashramas or in licensed lodging houses. Extension lectures were often organised. Debates were conducted by Lokayatas. It is supposed that Ladies' Club (Bala Sangha) also existed. Dramatic society (Nataka Sangha) was surely in existence.

Thus, variegated development of education was the contribution of the Epic Age.

(7) Foreigners' account of Education in India

India was fortunate in having been visited in the ancient days by foreign travellers from different countries of the world. Many of them left records of facts and their own impressions about life and culture in ancient India. Many of the accounts, however, do not contain matter of organised facts throwing light particularly on education.

The accounts left by Chinese Travellers however, form an exception. With the expansion of Buddhism to the Far East, a regular connection was established between India and China. Chinese scholars were naturally motivated to embark upon pilgrimages to the land of Buddha's origin with the threefold object of (i) visiting holy places connected with the life and activities of the Buddha; (ii) receiving first hand instruction in the scriptures from renowned masters of the day and (iii) collecting originals or making copies of the most essential and rare scriptures. They, therefore, travelled from end to end of the country, visited and got admitted to famous seats of learning. Their first hand report based upon their direct personal knowledge is obviously of first rate importance.

Fa-Hien on Education in 5th Century, A. D.

Fa-Hien was one of a company of Chinese scholars who had left for India to collect Vinaya Texts. From Udyana (Swat) to Tamralipti he found innumerable monasteries. He counted as many as 500 Hinayana Sangharams. Mahayana schools were flourishing in the

Panjab. Viharas were abundant in Mathura. On the banks of the Yamuna there were 20 monasteries with 3000 monks. 700 monks were lodged in the Purushapura Vihar. Kanya Kubja (Kacouj) had 2 Hinayana monasteries. Sravasti which originally had a university with 98 Viharas was still in a flourishing state. Amrapali's Vihara at Vaisali and Jivaka's Vihara at Rajagriha were still active. Fa-Hien also mentions Sankasya, Kusanagar, Pataliputra, Gaya, Benaras, Kausambi, Champa, and Tamralipti (Tamluk) etc. as places where existed populated Sangharams. These Viharas were maintained mainly by the laity—kings and merchant-princes. The visitor refers to copper plates regarding endowments of real property and grants for recurring expenses.

Oral teaching was still the rule. But Fa-Hien witnessed the use of manuscripts at Pataliputra and Tamralipti (where Mahayana was flourishing). The traveller copied the Vinaya, Sarvastivada rules in Gatha, Sanjuktabhidharma Hridaya Sutra in Gatha, Sutras, Parinirvan Vaipulya Sutra, Mahasamghika Abhidharma etc. Sanskrit was now a popular subject of study. Under the impact of Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism, stupas were consecrated in honour of teachers and texts. Every vihara had an assembly hall to hold debates and discussions which were highly educative. Non-Buddhist scholars were innumerable. Fa-hien refers to 96 sects of Vidyas to widen the scope of education and to provide for all comers. The Gupta Emperors were at the helm of a Hindu resurgence. Together with the Buddhist ideal of 'Service', the Brahmanic ideal of 'worship' now featured as important objectives of education.

Fa-Hien stayed in India from 399 to 414 A.D. Credit goes to him for the opening up of a process of inward-outward flow of teachers and students which continued thenceforth for 1000 years.

Jataka Reference

Fa-Hien's account corroborates Jataka stories. It is said in a Jataka story that Prince Brahmadatta of Benares went to Taxila, a great centre of learning with a thousand coins as teacher's fee. Parents eagerly sent their sons to such distant places, not knowing if they could see them again. Taxila was a centre of higher learning where students were generally admitted at 16 years. Tuition fees (generally in gold) could be paid in advance or by physical labour in lieu thereof or after graduation. The fees were not grabbed by the

teacher for his personal gains. They were spent to maintain the residential institutions. Some of the scholars also enjoyed state scholarships. There were Day-Scholars also. Prince Junha of Benares was one. Householders were also accepted as students. The roll strength in a college could reach the maximum of 500. With the exception of Chandalas, varied types of students were accepted. Obviously, there was freedom in choice of schools, and democracy in learning and discipline. Of course there were communal colleges also, for particular varnas. Teaching was conducted by shifts. Cock-crowing was a call to study. Trained Tittiri (bird) was used in aid of recitation. Writing was in vogue. Theory and practice went together. There was specialisation in science, arts and crafts. Special schools existed at Taxila for medicine, law and military science, and at Benaras for musical science. Formal education really ended with debating tours. In fact, the Jataka account of Taxila was a representative account of all the then famous seats of learning.

Hiu-en-Tsang on Education in 7th Century. A. D.

Hiu-en-Tsang stayed in India from 629 to 645 A. D. He witnessed the co-existence of Buddhist and Brahmanic learning (in Deva Temples), and also Hinayana and Mahayana education in monasteries. Resurgent Brahmanism made Hiu-en to designate India as a Brahmana Country. Yet, there were many sects amongst the Hindus. Study of the Vedas was widely in vogue. Oral teaching was generally the practice although thought provoking questions inhibited simple rote. Studenthood continued as long as 30+. State and people held learning in high esteem. Scholars were not wanting who pursued learning for the sake of learning. Finished scholars left the world to serve the world.

Hiu-en-Tsang found innumerable monasteries throughout India, from Benien in Central Asia to Tamralipti and Karnasuvarna in Bengal. There were many Vibaras in the North-Western regions *i.e.* Gandhar, Pushkalavati, Purushapura, Taxila, Kashmir. There were Vibaras in Nagarkot, Kapilavastu, Nepal and the Himalayan and Sub-Himalayan regions. With Kanyakubja, Ayodhya, Prayag, Varanasi, Sarnath etc. the present U. P. did not lag behind. Gaya, Nalanda, Munghyr led the field in Bihar, Samatat, Tamralipti and Raktamrittika Vibara in Karnasuvarna attracted pilgrims to Bengal. And there were monasteries at Jalandhar and Multan in the Punjab; Ardhra

and Vengi, Vezwada, the Chola country, Konkan in the south ; Maharashtra, Barooch, Malwa, Valabhi, Surat, Ujjain in western India : Chitore in Rajasthan ; Sind on the western borders and Kamrup in the east. Thus, there was a network of monasteries covering the length and breadth of India. Excluding the dilapidated and deserted ones, there were 5000 monasteries in working conditions with a resident strength of 107930 Hinayana monks and 104200 Mahayana monks. The strength of Hinayana and Mahayana sects was thus almost even. This total strength of 212130 monks was devoted to the cause of education.

These monasteries produced some of the greatest leaders of Buddhism viz. Bhalanta of Kashmir, Chandravarma of Jalandhar, Viryasena of Kanyakubja, Prajñabhaṭṭa near Nalanda etc. Bhikkus from Ceylon acquired erudition at Kanchipuram.

Syllabus for higher education was suited to the particular sect. Of course there was interdenominational study as well as non-scriptural study. Rote method still dominated. But understanding, expounding and debating capacities were fostered by rewards for which the scholars were classified in grades. Compulsory manual work was controlled by Karmadana. Exemptions were allowed on the ground of superior intellectual attainments. Spiritual exercise was sect-based. Mark of respect was bestowed for success in public examination before an assembly of monks. Public assemblies of Monks helped the interchange of ideas. Dinnaga, Shilabhadra, Gunamati, Dharmapala etc. acquired fame by defeating formidable rivals at such assemblies.

The account given above is that of higher education. Hiu-en-Tsang himself gives an account of primary education. The texts for primary education were (i) Siddham (Sanskrit alphabet and words), (ii) at 7+ the great Sutras of the 5 sciences e.g. Vyakarana, Silpasthan Vidya. Chikitsa, Hetu (logic), Adhyatma Vidya (inner self).

I-Tsing's Supplementary Account

I-Tsing who arrived in 672 A. D, supplemented Hiu-en-Tsang. He covered a lesser area than Hiu-en had done. He, however, earned a meticulous knowledge of Sanskrit and Grammar. The popularity of Brahmanism and Sanskrit caused the traveller to designate India as a Brahmana Rashtra and Sanskrit as a Brahmana Language.

I-Tsing gives a more detailed account of elementary general education. Six months were spent for Siddhirastu (alphabet and

syllables). For 8 months from 8+ the child learnt Panini's Sūtras which were followed by Dhatu. From 10+ he studied Khilas for 2 years. At about 15+ he studied Jayaditya and Kasikabrittī which were followed by Composition, Logic, Metaphysics, Jatakamala and Nagarjuna. Lastly came the 5 Vidyas.

This elementary education was followed by bifurcated higher studies—(i) Religion, (ii) Grammar which comprised Mahabbasya, Bhartrihari Sastras, Bhartrihari Vakyapadiya and Bhartribari Veda. He who completed this total course became a Bahu Sruta. Instruction was imparted according to academic age and experience. The Upasaka was promoted to the status of a Pravrajita and thence to Sramanera. Full ordination was held at 20+. After completion of studies and adoption of the Mahasilas, the scholar became an Upasampanna. Further studies in Pratimoksha, Vinaya, Sastras and Sūtras, however, continued endlessly. Monks were compulsorily to study Matricheta, Buddhacharita Kavya of Asvaghosa, Yoga and Logic etc. Monks were graded according to academic attainments in the ascending order of Sramanera, Bhikku, Sthavira and Bahusruta. Privileges were graded according to ranks. I-Tsing also names Nalanda and Valabhi as the most successful monasteries of the time. Monks could change their allegiance from one to another monastery if they liked. Routine life was controlled by a device of measuring time, with 'Vela Chakra'. Every monastery maintained a register. Self Govt. was the accepted mode of administration. In addition to Debating Halls, the royal courts very often provided for intellectual tournaments. The maxim for the teacher was, "Rather be a butcher than be a priest who gives others full ordination and leaves them untaught." The Sangharams also provided education of Brahmacharis and Manavas (white robed household students). Thus the 'country was placed above creed, and culture above church.'

I-Tsing visited India only 27 years after Hiu-en-Tsang had left. Things could not have basically changed in the intervening period. Hence, the accounts of Hiu-en-Tsang and I-Tsing together give a total picture of 7th Century education in India.

(8) Education of Women in ancient India

The Vedic age is specially credited with the freedom it had granted to women. This was a notable element of early Aryan civilisation. Women participated in sacrificial rituals. They enjoyed the privilege

of receiving education. Even Vedic knowledge was not out of bounds for them. Wives of Rishis were partners with their husbands in spiritual activities. Their daughters received education on equal terms with other residential pupils. Learned women were called Rishikas or Brahmavadinis. Vedic India produced a host of such luminaries as Romasha, Lopa, Apala, Kadru, Viswabara, Sabitri, Devjani, Maitreyee, Gargi.

Girls were given the privilege of passing through the Upanayana ceremony. Rg Veda refers to the marriage of educated girls. Educated daughters were considered as assets. Learned grooms were sought for educated brides. The Brihadaranyaka Upanishada refers to the urge for education of girls. Sama and Yajurvedas refer to Brahmacharya of virgins. The Taittareya Upanishada shows that married women enjoyed the right to participate in learned discourses. Yajnavalkya's wife was famous for her erudition. Yajnavalkya himself held learned debates with Gargi at King Janaka's court.

Due to internal social upheavals and external invasions, the freedom of women is known to have been undermined to some extent in the last phase of Pre-Christian and early phase of Christian era. But the whole field of Smriti literature was still open to them. There is reference in Sranta Sutra and Grihya Sutra that women could utter mantras. Jaimini's Purvamimansa shows that women enjoyed equal sacrificial rights with men. Hemadri refers to Vidya and Dharmaniti being mastered by women. Madhavaacharya refers to Upanayana at 8 years.

The tradition continued unabated to the Epic age. Astavakra held discourses with Brahmscharinis. Daughters of Sandilya and Gargya were learned Brahmacharinis. Bhikshuni Sulava's learned discussions with king Janaka is worth noting. Sramani Savari was another example of women's erudition. Chitrangada was a genius in military arts. Subhadra was an expert chariot driver. Draupadi, Savitri, Pramila etc. were learned ladies. Culinary arts, fine arts and music were special fields for women. This tradition of music and dance continued in a degenerated form in the middle ages in the Debadasi system.

Because of its very nature, Buddhism in its early days had not paid attention to the educational privileges of women. Celebacy and renunciation being an essential element of Buddhistic education.

there was a sharp decline in the extent of women's education. In fact, women had not been considered as equal to men. They were rather shunned.

Upon pleadings from Ananda and Mahaprajapati, the Buddha relented and permitted the acceptance of women students. But they were placed under special regulations and limitations in separate Viharas. Yet, Buddhist India produced a galaxy of learned women like Amrapali of Vaisali, Supriya of Varanasi, Uprati etc. There were famous women teachers too, viz-Mahaprajapati, Sujata, Soma, Anupama, Khema, Kisha. They also created literature still known as Therigatha. But the rise of towns and Sresthis had an adverse effect upon the broad education of the day. Many women of cultural talent had to turn public dancers. This sensuous degeneration evidently tarnished India's brilliant tradition in women's education, specially in the fine arts.

(9) Professional and vocational Education

The combination of Para Vidya and Apara Vidya constituted the wholeness of ancient Indian education. The Rishis were conscious of worldly duties. They placed emphasis upon creation of "wealth". Cattle-breeding had been held in high esteem in the earliest days. With the growth of urban life and social complexities concomitant with caste-divisions analogous with vocational specialisation, the importance of secular studies obviously increased. Sixty-four arts were known to the ancient Hindus. With the rise of powerful monarchies, some professions and careers acquired added importance.

Ayurveda was one such profession. Formalised Ayurvedic study was open to all with requisite qualifications. Quickness of understanding, clearness of vision, keenness of intelligence, presence of mind, morality, capacity of basic studies, professional aptitudes and some grounding in the Sastras were considered as essential qualifications for admission. The training was both theoretical and practical. Acquaintance with indigenous flora for the preparation of drugs was emphasised. Charaka, Susruta, Jivaka were products of this educative process.

Military career was similarly open to all, although the intake was mainly from amongst the Kshatriyas. The Upanayana ceremony for military education was separately codified. Each entrant had to adopt one particular weapon as symbol. For the Brahmin it was the

bow, for the Kshatriya it was the sword, for the Vaisya the spear, and for the Sudra, the club. The initiation ceremony was known as '*Chhurika Bandhana*'. The teacher had to be expert in as many as 7 weapons. Brahmin teachers also taught the theories and practices of military science. Acharya Drona may be cited as an example.

Professional education of the Vaisyas was mainly of the commercial type. Apart from studying certain scriptures and texts, they had particularly to be well versed in accounting, weights and measures, nature, quality and use value of the articles of merchandise, the genuineness and values of stones and jewels. They were expected to be acquainted with topography and transport as well as multiple languages and dialects.

Training for manual and industrial production was well organised. There was a twofold development in this field. Apprenticeship was extensively in vogue. The residential trainee had to take an oath of fidelity and loyalty while the master accepted the responsibility of training and maintaining the student. It, therefore, resembled the Gurukul system, each family secretly preserving its "trick of trade". The second line of development was the growth of guilds. There is ample literary evidence of the existence of Krishi Sangh, Gopalak Sangh, Vanik Sangh, Silpi Sangh, Karigar Sangh, Nartaka Sangh and the like.

The ancient Hindus were conversant with 64 arts. Pali literature refers to 18 arts. The Arthashastra of Kautilya gives an elaborate account of the various arts and crafts viz. weaving and spinning, mineral and metal industries, sandal, wool, wood and silk industries, irrigated agriculture etc. Evidently, simple division of labour had advanced far in that period.

Although the fundamental aim in Buddhist education was renunciation, the impact of the secular demands of life could not be denied. Hence, education in the arts and crafts continued and flourished also in the Buddhist system. Nalanda is known to have a department of Arts. The names of Dhiman and Bitpal are associated with it. Architecture in the form of Stupas, Chaityas and Viharas was a special contribution of this era. It was during the Gupta and subsequent eras that Indian arts and architecture influenced the whole of South-East Asia.

(10) Curricular development in ancient Indian education.

The curriculum reflects the aims of education. Such studies and activities are included in the curriculum as are considered contributory to the attainment of objectives. It was natural that the curriculum in the early Vedic stage would be dominated by Vedic scriptures which were spiritual in nature, and were supposed to illumine the vision of the student. At the same time, there is no denying that the curriculum has a close relation with social life and social needs, because all education must be socially purposive. Ancient Indian curriculum represents the combination of both these factors.

Education in the earliest phase was cosmic in nature. Through long years of practical experience, the early Aryans developed a system of knowledge embodied in their sacrificial hymns (Mantras) which they uttered during sacrifices in oblationary prayer addressed to the mighty elements of nature who were determinants of human existence. These mantras were compiled in Samhitas—Rik, Sama, Yajur, Atharva. The Samhitas constituted the early Vedic curriculum. With the gradual rise of the Vedangas (Siksha, Kalpa, Vyakarana, Nirukta, Chhanda, Jyotisha), the learning matter further expanded. The Aranyaka was similarly included in course of time.

The field of learning further branched out in the Later Vedic phase. Subsidiary subjects like Astronomy, Astrology, Botany, Geometry, Higher Mathematics etc. became separately integrated. Simultaneously, the Upanishadas acquired a final shape, thereby expanding the curricular limits.

The Sutra period followed the three earlier periods in order—Chhanda, Mantra, Brahmana. Extensive Smriti and Sruti literature was the special contribution of this period. Grihya, Srauta, Dharma, Sulva Sutras became independent subjects of study. Supplementaries i.e. Parisista, Prayasa, Paddhati, Karika, Anukramani further widened the field of knowledge. The growth of Sutra literature led to a concomitant growth of commentaries i.e. *Vashya* literature (viz. "Patanjali's Mahabhasya"). Secular studies were simultaneously formalised as *Upa Vedas*. A special contribution of this age of specialisation was the rise of specialised Sutra schools and teachers.

Industrial, vocational and professional education received special emphasis in the Epic period. Reference to the different departments

of a fullfledged Asrama, e. g. Political Science, Military Science, Astronomy, Botany, Transport etc. shows that education, by that time, was departmentalised on the basis of curricular contents.

Education of the Kshatriyas was also a prominent feature of this period. The Pandavas studied all the Vedas, various Sastras, Niti, Itihasa—Purana, Family laws, General laws, Nyaya, Writing, Painting and exercises in jumping, swimming, elephant-horse-chariot riding etc. The Mahabharata also refers to Sabdasastra, Yuktisashtra, Ayurveda, Nataka, Kavya etc. Similarly, the education of the Vaisya received a special impetus in this period. It is a matter of conjecture how wide the curriculum had become in course of its evolution, by the accumulation of new contents at every stage.

The full-fledged Brahmanic curriculum consisted of the 3 Vedas, 6 Vedangas. Brahmana, Vedanta—Upanishadas, Vakovakya, Itihasa-Purana, Akhyana, Anvakhyana, Vyakhyana, Gatha, Kshatra Vidya, Rashi, Nakshatra Vidya, Bhuta Vidya, Sarpa Vidya, Daiva Vidya, Brahma Vidya, Devajana Vidya, Nidhi, Sutra and various arts and crafts. From this vast panorama, there was election for the different castes in different phases of development. Standardisation of knowledge was attained to a great extent, as is evident from the three expressions—Alpapragna, Madhyamapragna, Mahapragna. Similarly, the standard of graduation was assessed at three levels—Vidya Snataka, Vrata Snataka, Vidya Vrata Snataka.

Buddhistic curriculum, like Brahmanic curriculum, had started with scriptures—Tripitakas (Sutta, Dharma, Vinaya) as its core. Buddhistic education had basically been designed as education for renunciation. But Buddhistic education had to coexist with Brahmanic education by competition. Buddhist scholars had to defend their faith in public debates against Brahmanic challenge. Hence they required to know much of Brahmanic learning-matter also. Brahmanic subjects of study were thus gradually included in the Buddhistic curriculum. Milinda Panho throws much light upon the then Buddhistic curriculum which consisted of Tripitakas, the 4 Vedas, Itihasa, Lexicography, Prosody, Phonetics, Grammar, Astronomy, Astrology, Medicine, Panini etc. The 5 Vidyas—Sabda, Silpasthana, Chikitsa, Hetu, Philosophy received honoured place in Buddhistic curriculum.

Buddhistic education did not remain simply an antagonistic competitor of Brahmanic education. Co-existence caused supple-

mentation to each other. Two systems in the same body-politic responding to varied social demands became inter-related through interpolation of subject content. With the growth of mass popularity, Buddhistic education acquired a secular bias and incorporated secular subjects. Hindu resurgence caused a re-assertion of modified Sanskrit which now secured a proper place in Buddhistic education. The story of Nagarjuna's education shows how a scholar could master both the fields of learning. Brahmanic scholarship could be followed by Buddhistic scholarship.

The non-sectarian and comprehensive general education in the glorious days of Buddhism included Hindu and Bouddha philosophy, Medicine, Law, Polity, Jatakamala etc. Thus, everything from Philosophy to Grammar and fine arts found place in Buddhistic curriculum.

(11) Para and Aparā Vidya

Although in general terms the Vedas are considered to have constituted Para Vidya and other studies contributing towards a successful material life constituted Aparā Vidya, the ancient Rishis did not accept even the Vedas as Para Vidya.

Probahana, son of King Jihala says that Rik, Sama, Yaju, Atharva, Siksha, Kalpa, Vyakarana and such other studies are but Aparā Vidya. Only that which imparts direct knowledge of the Brahma i.e. Pure and unadulterated Brahma Vidya alone is Para Vidya. In Kathopanishada Yama says, "The Spirit cannot be attained by a study of the Vedas. Even vast knowledge or genius cannot expound it." In Mundakopanishada Angira says, "There are two classes of knowledge, Para Vidya and Aparā Vidya. Rik, Sama, Yaju, Atharva Vedas, Siksha, Kalpa, Vyakarana, Nirukta, Chhanda, Jyotisha and everything like them belong to the category of Aparā Vidya. Only that is Para Vidya which causes the attainment of the Parama Purusa." Uddalak also did not consider that Vedic knowledge was Para Vidya. Only pure and heavenly knowledge was Para Vidya.

In Chhandogya Upanishada, Narada says to Sanatakumara that he had mastered the four Vedas, the fifth veda (i.e. Itihasa Purana), Grammar, Mathematics, the Vedangas, soil science, military science, magic, the arts, logic, ethics, astronomy, fine arts and crafts etc. He had become a master of Mantras i.e. a learned man. Yet he could

not know his self. One who has knowledge of the Supreme, may have knowledge of his own self. Such a person rises above agony caused by a sense of non-fulfilment. Sanatakumara said that Narada's knowledge consisted of some symbols of objects, not real and complete knowledge.

Sanata kumara then defines a hierarchy of knowledge. Speech is superior to symbolic words. The mind is superior to speech. The greatest power of the mind is imagination. The first stage is mental proposition, which is followed by thought; speech is accordingly controlled; then comes execution of work. Evidently, 'Chitta' is superior to mind and its proposition. Dhyana is superior to Chitta, because Dhyana means concentration, the highest power of Chitta. From maturity of Dhyana comes Scientific and specialised knowledge which leads to mental and spiritual strength, only which may attain the Supreme. He who has knowledge of the Supreme is 'Atiyadi'. Everything other than knowledge of the Supreme is changeable and perishable.

(12) The Gurukul

"As the aim of education, so is the school" may be accepted as a dictum. Salvation, illumination and enlightenment constituted the basic aim of education in ancient India. But education was also deliberately designed instruction, influence and training with immediate objectives. Hence education meant Siksha (learning to recite), Adhyayana (going near the teacher), Vinaya (living out in a particular way). Although the ultimate aim of education was merger with the Universal through "self realisation", yet proximate aims were (i) inculcation of social and civic duties through hospitality and charitability (so that a sense of dependence upon society might develop), and (ii) character formation through instruction, training, hero worship and emulation of persons possessed of ideal character. This was impossible in any Day School. Ancient India, therefore, developed a typical system of residential pupilage at teacher's house. This was the Gurukul system.

Gurukul meant residence in teacher's house for education after Upanayana till the Samavartana. This was the period of Antevasin. The spirit of 'Gurukul' was implied in the Upanayana system itself.

Gurukuls were not always situated in forests. In the majority of cases they were in villages and towns because majority of teachers were household dwellers. But in any case they were situated in

secluded surroundings. Clusters of Gurukuls developed in certain localities. These were the "Agrahara" settlements. The Gurukul admitted students only after a stage of their maturity. Evidently they were institutions of higher learning, not elementary 3 Rs. alone. Residential studentship was a matter of rule. Yet, local students were not always required to lodge.

The Gurukul implied the recognition of the value of habit, routine, imitation, sympathy and suggestion. By emulation of the elderly scholars, the younger learners developed an association with the school. Belongingness to the school's tradition ensured the growth of an *esprit de corps*. Discipline was a natural phenomenon of such a life. The student had to contribute his labour to keep the Gurukul going. This was inherent in the concept of "Asrama". Instruction was individualised and education was free of tuition charges. (Upon completion of education the student could pay homage to the Guru)

Such a system of schooling meant the teacher's position of high esteem and authority. He was the father-substitute for the pupils. He had to be an embodiment of intellectual and spiritual ideals. He alone determined the admission of students, and he alone was the final examiner and judge. Obviously he was guided by the Laws of Duty. The teacher had to be spiritually qualified and well versed. He had to adopt the pupil and lead him to light. He looked after the necessary comfort of the pupil and he was the sole arbiter, rewarder and punisher.

The student, on his part, had to be similarly guided by laws of duty. He had to beg, keep the sacred fire burning and tend the cattle. To sleep in day time was illegal for him. He had to rise earlier and go to bed later than the preceptor did. His hours of study were fixed. Serving the teacher was his incumbent duty. Above all, he had to observe *Brahmacharya*.

Such a school-life ensured character-formation through direct, personal and continuous contact between teacher and pupil. The negative factors of family life were eliminated. Yet it was not a negation of family life, because the student, in the "antevasin" period, belonged to the Guru's family. The personal angularities of pampered children were toned down in the collective life in Gurukul. The student was thus socialised and transformed into a complete man.

The Gurukul cannot be compared with the monasteries of mediaeval Europe, nor with the Buddhist Viharas. While the Viharas prepared the student for final renunciation, the Brahmanic Gurukul sent the student back to society. It is not even comparable with modern Gurukul or Aśramic institutions built upon traditional patterns. The Hindu Gurukul conformed to Hindu schemes of life. It served a distinctive purpose and therefore lived long.

(13) Teacher-pupil Relation in Ancient India

Much importance was attached to the Alma mater in ancient India because of the very concept and aim of education. The teacher's role was to lead the pupil from darkness, removing the cover of the lamp of learning, thus letting out the light. The teacher caused the intellectual rebirth of the pupil. Hence he was held in high esteem. He was the spiritual and intellectual father. (The Upanishadas are replete with stories of devotion. The case of Ekalavya may also be cited. Jaina and Buddhist stories tell the same tale).

This reverence was natural, because—(i) teaching was oral and direct, (ii) for spiritual salvation the pupil had to depend absolutely upon the path-finding teacher, (iii) professional teaching was imparted under personal guidance, and (iv) pupil's practical apprenticeship was widely in vogue.

This reverence was institutionalised through Upanayana Gurukul, Samavartana, and concept of life-long studentship.

The teacher required no special professional training other than what he received through the monitorial system and public debates. But he had to be highly qualified with an ideal character, patience, impartiality, sound knowledge and life-long study. For his professional efficiency he was required to have fluent delivery, ready wit, capacity to instantaneously expound intricate problems. He had to possess the capacity to inspire his pupil. Moreover, the teacher had to abide by an unwritten professional code. He accepted no regular fees (although a meagre honorarium was not illegal or immoral). He had to give the pupil all he knew and confess his shortcomings. Hence he was held in high esteem.

A list of teacher's duties would be very long indeed. He was associated with his pupil in filial relation. Being the pupil's spiritual father, he had immense moral responsibility. His extra-academic

duties were many. Particularly he was the guardian of the student's health, habit and conduct. He maintained the student and nursed him in his ailment. He could not look for any fixed income. The income came from sacrifices and gifts.

Non-commercial teachership endowed the teacher with inherent rights regarding absolute control of the institution, including admission, expulsion and punishment. The teacher determined the curriculum, syllabus and methods of teaching. He was the sole examiner and judge of the student's proficiency.

On the pupil's side, there were corresponding duties. He had to observe the decorum and rules of conduct. The student's daily life included morning rituals, prayers, begging and studying at fixed hours. In the evening, the student had to take physical exercises. Students of practical subjects had to spend much time in workshops.

The student could not progress in knowledge without rendering service. The pupil had to get up and salute the teacher whenever they met. He had always to take a lower seat. Personal service to the teacher was compulsory. Service extended also to the teacher's home, the Asrama or the whole Tapovana. Rules of discipline had to be strictly adhered to. The student could not backbite the teacher although he could correct the teacher if the latter was in fault. Only in extreme cases could he revolt and leave the teacher. The duties, however, did not hamper studies, because the relation was direct, cordial and intimate. The relation continued in after-life. The student frequently called on the teacher who paid return visits.

In Buddhistic education this relationship continued in the main. All monks had to beg. Novices (Samanera) had to do menial work. The student had to rise early, prepare and serve the teacher's meal, wash his bowl, and accompany him in his begging round. He had to follow the teacher at a particular distance and could not talk or do anything unless asked by the teacher.

The teacher in his turn had to help the pupil intellectually and spiritually. He had to supply the necessities. But he had the right to expel the pupil for lack of shame, reverence, devotion, morals and respect for the Upadhyaya. But some changes in the relationship occurred due to the democratic element in Buddhistic education. The student now enjoyed the right to criticise or even revolt if the teacher left the Sangh or inspired the pupil to do immoral or irreligious things. Moreover, extreme punishment upon the pupil could now be

awarded by the Chapter (i.e. Vihara Council). Thus, the change was from monarchical to oligarchical administration.

On the whole, Teacher-Pupil relation, in both the systems was direct, cordial and intimate. It served the scheme and system of education admirably.

(14) Teacher and Pupil as referred to in the Upanishadas

Upanishadik stories speak eloquently of the position of the Guru in the scheme of education. The story of Satyakama tells over and again that the satisfaction of the Guru brings salvation and light. The Taittiriya says, "Tapasya is Brahma and Guru is Acharya. The Brahma himself is the preceptor of the devoted Tapasvi. Brahma unfolds Himself to such a devotee."

Uddalak says to Swetaketu, "No theoretical dogma comes to clear understanding and beyond doubts unless the student places absolute reliance upon and devotion to the Acharya. Devotion, like a loving mother, shields the Brahmachari from all evils and dangers." 'Place absolute reliance upon me'—is a great dictum.

Uddalak says, 'He who gets the Acharya's blessings, comes to know the truth. The Acharya is a great theoretician, the kindest Guru. With his blessings the blind seekers of truth find knowledge of the self and attain salvation.'

Hiranyanabha, the Prince of Kosala, had approached Rishi Sukeshha with some queries. Without hiding his own limitations the latter approached Rishi Pippalada. The son of a king and the son of a Rishi were equal seekers of the Brahma. After receiving knowledge of the Brahma from Pippalada, his disciples said, "You ferried us across the river of ignorance. You are our father!" Similarly, Narada received the knowledge of the Brahma from Sanatakumara. By previous tapasya Narada had freed himself of anger and jealousy. Sanatakumara helped him to see light beyond the limits of darkness.

On the other side of the shield there is ample testimony of devoted pupilage. The story of Jabala Satyakama and Rishi Goutama establishes the victory of "Truth". The lesson is, "He who is unflinching to truth is Brahmin. Character is greater than gotra." (Uttisthata, Jagrata, Prapya Baran Nibodhata—is a memorable lesson for all students in all the ages).

The Ohhandogya defines the vidyarthi as "Samitpani". Indra had to perform Brahmacharya for 101 years. In fact, the first and fore-

most duty of the disciple was the observance of Brahmacharya. The body, the senses, even the mind were but vehicles of the spirit. The method to attain that spirit was Brahmacharya. There were three recognised paths to the acquisition of knowledge—strict brahmacharya and prolonged devotion, the presentation of huge wealth and cattle to the preceptor as “*pranami*”, repaying knowledge by impartation of knowledge. The pupil unflinchingly followed anyone of these paths.

In the *Chhandogya* again Uddalak says to Svetaketu, “The best time to attain knowledge of the Brahma by devotion and concentrated meditation of the Brahma is adolescence. He who attains this knowledge is really learned and wise. The Rishis only are learned and wise.” In fact, birth in a Brahmin family did not make one a Brahmin in those days. On the contrary, people castigated one who, inspite of being a Brahmin’s son, was devoid of the knowledge of the Vedas or of the practice of brahmacharya. He was called a “*Brahmabandhu*”. A *Dwijabandhu* or *Brahmabandhu* was a Brahmin by birth, not by qualities or performances. He was almost as outcaste as a *Sudra*.

Sanata Kumara says to Narada, “*Manana* is impossible without *Sraddha*. Without devotion there can be no *Sraddha*. Unflinching performance of duties only may bring about concentrated devotion. It is not sufficient to remember the precepts of the teacher, they must be translated into practice, and life must be lived accordingly. Only then will come success. To perform duty, one must find pleasure in the performance of duties. Only the “unlimited” brings happiness, the limited cannot. (*Bhumaiba Sukham, Nalpe Sukhamasti*). Unlimited and eternal happiness should be the aim of life. The unlimited is above decay ; the limited is earthly and subject to decay, destruction and death. He who strives to attain the Spirit in this fashion may ultimately attain it.”

The pupils in ancient India strove to attain the Brahma in this fashion and lived a life accordingly.

So keen was the pupils’ urge for knowledge that they even submitted to Kshatriya Preceptors for Brahma Vidya. Svetaketu was the son of Gautama who was the son of Aruna. Svetaketu had acquired knowledge of the Vedas, but failed to acquire Brahma Vidya. Probahana, son of King Jibala unreservedly imparted that knowledge to him. In fact, Gautama was the first Rishi, who, for the sake of knowledge submitted to Kshatriya Preceptors. Five Rishis had received knowledge of the Atma and Brahma from King Aswapati.

Uddalaka son of Aruna failed to give right answers to some queries and unhesitatingly went to King Aswapati as a student.* Similar is the story of Bālāki and King Ajātasatru of Kashi.

Serious learners were not reluctant to learn from Nari Rishis, all of whom even did not belong to upper castes. Devisukta was the creation of Bak. Female preceptors became Brabma Vadinis and Veda Vadinis and were invited to debates. The story of Gargi stands testimony to the truth that they interpreted Atma and pupils devotedly received lessons from them.

(15) Methods of Teaching

The method of teaching is a direct outcome of the aim of education, the type of school and the learning matter. The content of Brahmanic learning consisted mainly of Mantra. Mantras had to be recited with correct pronunciation and accent. Hence recitation was the fundamental method in Brahmanic education. In fact, effective recitation developed as a fine art.

But, recitation did not mean simple rote. The Rishis placed special emphasis upon comprehension. Any recitation without understanding the inner meaning of Rik was equivalent to Aparavidya. The inner meaning was explained by the teacher through series of intelligent answers to questions raised by the student. Lastly self study and concentrated meditation constituted the best method of acquiring inner knowledge.

But acquisition of knowledge was not enough. Inner spiritual insight of the Absolute could be acquired only through revelation. Revelation was possible only when desires and illusions ended. Suppression of desire came through Sannyas and Yoga. The learner had to conquer his passions by chastity, austerity, poverty and penance.

In the Vedic-Brahmanic system, even in the matter of methods of teaching and learning, great stress was placed upon Brahmacharya. In the Brihadaranyaka it is said that there could be no knowledge without power, and no power or energy without Brahmacharya. Ohhandogya also speaks in the same vein. Jabala Satyakama says to Gosruti,—“Pran is above speech, (Vakya), eyes, ears, mind and sex. Practise sanjama of Prana. Through Dhyana and Samadhi comes knowledge of self.” Yama says to Nachiketa, “the body (Sarira) is the chariot, Atma the charioteer, Buddhi the driver, Mana the bridle and the senses the horses.” Evidently—“Mind is greater than the

senses, Buddhi is greater than mind, Prakriti is greater than Buddhi, Purusha is greater than Prakriti'. In the Taittiriya, Bhrigu (son of Baruna) says, "to attain the Brahma, one must seek with Mana (i.e. Dhyana), Prana (i.e. Aradhana) and Sarira (i.e. Tapasya)". Reference may again be made to Yama who says, "The spiritual cannot be attained with the temporal. One must try to attain the desired end rather than be satisfied with what is easily achievable. The journey to the end demands self control through Daya, Dana, Damyat.

Teaching in the *Buddhistic system* too, was individualised. Each Saman had to choose an Acharya (of 10 years experience). Learning by heart, in the form of rote, prevailed in this system too. But new elements were introduced in the form of reading, explanation, sermons and examinations. The students were encouraged to compose poems. Fa Hien refers to the value attached to rational thinking. The system was so organised that in course of receiving education, the learner acquired teaching ability too. This process was facilitated by discussions very often held. Self study was the ultimate stage in the process of education. Preaching Bhikkus had to defend their faith against onslaughts from banner-holders of other faiths. Hence, the exercise of debating capacity was specially attended to. Honour was bestowed upon one that could vanquish the opponent. Expert debaters and talkers were classified and honoured accordingly. Seminars and conferences of the Rectors of Viharas were often held. Learned assemblies were patronised by kings. Hiu-en-Tsang refers to such assemblies at Prayag under the patronage of Harshavardhan. Education of a Buddhist student ended with an educational and debating tour. Evidently, the methods of Buddhist education were not mechanical, nor tyrannous.

(16) Yoga as a method of learning

The ancient Rishis believed in an eternal moral order and four noble truths that (i) there was suffering, (ii) there was cause of suffering, (iii) there was cessation of suffering, (iv) there was the ultimate certainty of salvation.

Ignorance was one of the causes of suffering because it meant bondage. Hence knowledge meant freedom. Knowledge of the ultimate might be acquired only by continued and concentrated contemplative meditation. Concentration was ensured by self control. Self

control meant control of impulses, and observance of Sanjama. The technique was Yoga.

'Tapas' meant annihilation of desires, for direct realisation of truth through renunciation, sacrifices and penances. The process was Brahmacharya, during which the learner had to practise *Śravaṇa*, *Manana*, *Nididhyāsana*. Evidently, higher knowledge was attainable through renunciation and meditation. Knowledge of Atman came by revelation through Yoga. The pre-requisites were (i) annihilation of desires and (ii) annihilation of illusions. This came through *Sannyāsa* i.e. casting off. Yoga meant withdrawal of organs from objects of sense and concentrating them on inner self, to free oneself from plurality and to secure union with Atman.

The system is a consequence of the doctrine of the Upanishadas in which the highest end is knowledge of self and identity with Atman. To attain that end, the Yogi had purposely to dissolve the ties with the illusory world of phenomena (*Samsara*) and practise self concentration (Yoga). Thus, *Sannyāsa* and Yoga were remarkable inventions of the genius of the Indian people. The first sought to suppress desire, the second was based on the consciousness of plurality and the desire for self-realisation.

Kathopanishada defines the terms Atman, *Sarira*, *Buddhi*, *Manas*, *Indriya*. Atma rides in the chariot of *Sarira*. *Buddhi* is the driver. *Indriyas* are the horses, *Manas* the reins. Hence, *Indriyas*, out of control are like vicious horses. According to this analysis, therefore, higher than the senses are the objects of senses; higher than this is *Manas*; then higher is *Buddhi*; and still higher is the great Self. 'Katha' explains Yoga as control of senses and Yogi as "Apramatta". *Bṛihadāranyaka* explains Yoga as *sānta*, *dānta*, *uparata*, *titikṣha*, *saṁāhita*. "Chhandogya" explains *Pratyahara* as the resting of all senses in 'Atman'. "Maitra" refers to 'Sadanga Yoga' viz. *Asana*, *Prāṇāyāma*, *Pratyahāra*, *Dhyana*, *Dhāraṇa* and *Samadhi*.

In post-Vedic times, Yoga was developed and elaborated into a formal system by Patanjali (ref : Patanjali's Yoga Sutra). The system implies several *angas* i.e. external practices, e.g. (i) *Yama* (discipline), (ii) *Niyama* (self restraint), (iii) *Asana* (sitting), (iv) *Prāṇāyāma* (regulation of breath), (v) *Pratyahāra* (suppression), (vi) *Dhāraṇa* (concentration of attention), (vii) *Samadhi* (absorption).

Chitta is 'Samsara'. If *chitta* is fixed on *Brahma*, a man is free from bondage. (This is the essence of *chitta vṛtti nirodha*). The

Yogi requires lightness of body, freedom from diseases, serenity of mind, radiant countenance and pleasant voice. Yoga should be undertaken in congenial environment, clear level spot free from pebbles, fire and gravel, by the side of water and other prerequisites, not offensive to the eye, i.e. a hidden retreat. This concept led to the growth of sylvan asramas.

(17) Concept of Brahma

The ancient Rishis strove for the attainment of Brahma. Their concept of Brahma is also awe-inspiring. The Vedas refer to Him as Prajapati i.e. Creator. The Puranas refer to Him as Pitamata i.e. original father. Rishi Goutama says to Jabala Satyakama that the Brahma is the supreme self of bliss and consciousness. He is superior to Agni, Vayu, Surya and Prana. Yama says to Nachiketa that the Supreme Self is smaller than an atom, larger than the largest. He is beyond the limits of sound, touch or vision. He is the original, the eternal and the endless. He is Atma. Bhrigu, son of Rishi Baruna, says in Taittiriya, "Food (Anna) is Brahma, Meditation is Brahma, Prana (vital force) is Brahma, Mana (consciousness) is Brahma, and Ananda (bliss) is Brahma." Yajnavalkya says, "He sees, cannot be seen; hears, cannot be heard; thinks, cannot be thought; knows, cannot be known. He is the invisible and indestructible source of the Universe. Knowledge of Him is supreme". The same idea occurs also in Astaddhyae.

Aswapati says to Uddalak, son of Rishi Aruna, "Atma is not the earth, nor the sun, nor the air, nor the sky, nor water. The celestial world is His head, sun and moon His eyes, the different quarters of the globe are His ears, the Vedas His speech; Vayu His "prana", the Universe His heart, the earth His legs. He is the inner spirit and core of every object. This core of the heart is dearer than a son, richer than wealth. Knowledge of Atma is more valuable than Dana, Dhyana, Yajna, Vrata—this is the essence of the conversation between Raja and Raikva.

In Chhandogya Upanishad Uddalak says to Svetaketu, "You are He. (Tattvamashi). You are Brahma. Atma is Brahma. Atma is Truth, Brahma, Unique, Indivisible, Blissful. There is death for the body, not for the Atma. The future tree with all its branches exists in the invisible and minutest seed. This invisible origin is "power".

The physique, the senses and the mind are but vehicles of Atma. Swarūpa is Paramatma.

(18) Educational Rituals

The aim of life was salvation and merger with the Universal. The aim of education was acquisition of knowledge of the Universal as well as of the true self (atman). But mere knowing was not enough for Moksha. It required knowing, doing and being, all together. Evidently it meant an art of living in practice. These spiritually-based practices were institutionalised in the 'form of educational' rituals.

The rituals were nothing additional to education. The process of education was a process of well defined rituals one after another. The Rishis admitted the importance of mother's role and the purity of her married life. Several ceremonies were to be observed in this respect. Care of the child started from *Garbhadhana* i.e. in its embryonic stage. This was pre-natal education. *Yatikarma* and *Annaprasana* followed the child's birth. This was postnatal education. The mother was properly instructed at every stage.

The beginning of home education was heralded by the *Vidyarambha* ceremony at 5 yrs. It was open to all castes and was a family function. Allowances were sanctioned in respect of age limits. For the Brahmin child, the range was 5-8 yrs. For the Kshatriya it was 8-11 yrs, for the Vaisya 12+. The child prayed for blessings of elders and Gods. The *Chuda Karma* (tonsure) followed immediately. Then came the most important ritual—Upanayana.

Upanayana meant taking a pupil to a teacher. Its origin was prehistoric. The Rik Veda pre-supposed it and the Atharva Veda describes it in details. Originally it was performed during commencement of Vedic studies. Upto 400 B. C. it was not obligatory. This educational function as a bodily ritual, primarily for purification of body, was gradually transformed with a spiritual flavour. Moreover, with the establishment of a stereotyped structure of society and social values, Upanayana became obligatory and was stereotyped.

The three upper castes were eligible for this ritual. Those unfit by character and birth were kept out. The general age limit was 8 to 12 yrs. But age allowances were extensively granted for children of different castes. For the Brahmins it was 8 to 12 yrs, for the Kshatriyas 11 to 22 yrs, for the Vaisyas 12-24 yrs. The age limit varied according to the particular aim of education. Moreover, the

age was fixed according to the supposed capacity, aptitude and choice of studies. The time for the ceremony was similarly different. For the Brahmin it was the Spring, for the Kshatriya it was the Summer and for the Vaisya, the Autumn. Defaulters were considered Savitripatit. For them, Manu prescribes ostracism. Redemption was possible by expiatory ceremony and penances. It signifies that the ceremony was compulsory for the 3 castes and it was observed in all seriousness.

Through Upanayana, the student became a twice-born (Dwija),—the first birth having been physical, the second being spiritual. Derivatively "Upa+ni" meant introduction by the teacher, of the pupil, to Brahmacharya, by contact with Guru, Vrata, Veda, Yama, Niyama and Devatas. With fire in hand, the pupil approached the Guru and begged for acceptance as student. Hence the pupil was called "Samitpani". He was then led to the sacred fire for offering "Samidh." This part of the ritual, connected with the sacred fire, signified brilliance prayed for. The teacher then presented the pupil to the deities for protection from harm, disease, death. The pupil then accepted a Brahmachari's uniform consisting of Ajina, Kaupina, Vasa (lower garment), Mekhala (girdle) and Upavita (symbolising the 3 Vedas) etc., and held a Danda (signifying firm determination to undertake a long journey towards ultimate knowledge). There were different uniforms symbolising different wishes and desires (particularly pertaining to the different castes).

Thus dressed, the pupil stood on a stone signifying steadfastness. This was called *Asmarohan*. In this posture he surrendered to the teacher who accepted him as a disciple. Uttering Savitri Mantra (Gayatri) the teacher offered prayer to the Sun. This was followed by formal investiture with staff which meant that the pupil would be a careful watch dog to guard the Vedas. Now the teacher addressed the student, the essence of the address being. "Thou art a Brahmachari. Be religious and persevering. Do not sleep by day. Learn the Vedas under the teacher. Follow thy teacher at every footstep. Remove anger and untruth. Do not commit excesses in bathing, dressing and eating. Give up scandal, covetousness, greed, envy, fear and sorrow. Get up early and devote thyself to meditation. Do not take meat, wine or pungent things."

The teacher announced the rules and regulations of student life viz. begging, nature of permissible food, services, duties, restrictions,

studies and courses, period of studentship etc. On the 4th day, after ceremonial begging, was held the Medhajanana ceremony (spiritual rebirth) and Savitri Vrata. The teacher asked the student to follow him and his words, to concentrate his thought upon the teacher, to respect him and assured him that the pupil's heart was impregnated with the teacher's spirit. Thus ended the initiation ceremony.

The ritual had a tremendous significance. It was the beginning of a new epoch in life characterised by dignity, decorum, discipline. The student became a self-reliant traveller to the realm of knowledge. He undertook an arduous and life long journey to be covered with Divine help. The teacher wanted him to have a personality as that of Indra and an intelligence flaming as God Fire.

School life in different phases synchronised with different rituals. The *Upakarma* (Sravani) was held on the fullmoon day of Sravana. This was the function to inaugurate a session. Progress made in the preceding year was reviewed and work ahead assessed. *Utsarjana* ceremony was held on the full moon day of Pous. It was the annual dispersal or closure ceremony.

The *Samavartana* was the convocation ceremony. Brahmanic education classified Snatakas as Vidya Snataka (versed in Scriptures), Vrata Snataka (versed in practical work), Vidya-Vrata Snataka (*i.e.* in both theory and practice). On the scheduled date, the snataka had to confine himself indoors till midday, lest the morning sun should feel inferior to the lustre and brilliance of the student. Then the student renounced his girdle and dress and bathed in scented water. Richly dressed the student offered Guru-Dakshina and prayed that he might be liked by all. The teacher made a speech, the essence of which was, "Speak the truth and practise virtue. Do not neglect duty and do not swerve from truth, virtue, welfare. Do not neglect what is good. Do not neglect study and teaching or duties to God, parents and teachers. Worship mother, father, teacher and guest as God. Learn modesty, duty, wisdom and reason. Be pure in mind and body. And above all repay the Three Debts."

The teacher then defined the responsibilities of the student in the subsequent phases of life. The teacher performed a Yajna and prayed that the pupil had many students to ensure continuity of knowledge. Verbally certifying the proficiency of the student, the teacher presented him before learned Pandits.

The significance of rituals was *not neglected in Buddhist education too*. Like the Brahmanic system, the Buddhistic system also was characterised by educational rituals.

Pravajja, equivalent to Upanayana, was initiation to studenthood. The student had to leave behind everything connected with his previous home life. The *Pravajja* was the first step of "going forth" for the ultimate "going out of worldliness." The ceremony was open to all castes, signifying equality and fraternity in the great Ocean of Buddhist Brotherhood. There were, however, some restrictions connected with age of the entrant, parental sanction, physical and moral defects. Criminals, matricides or shameless candidates were rejected. Similarly rejected were those in important state service or against whom legal proceedings were pending. The *Pravajja* initiated a period of novitiate. The pupil approached an *Upadhyaya* and reverently prayed for guidance in his journey to spiritual life. He recited his vow of Triple Refuge in the Buddha, Dharma and the Sangha. Teacher then accepted him as a student. The Sangha organisation developed on the basis of such coöperative union of teachers and pupils. No one without formal pupilage was admitted to the Sangha. The Sangha did not, as a collective entity, undertake teaching responsibility which had to be carried on by an individual teacher. He was responsible for the intellectual, physical and moral well being of the pupil.

Sangha life meant preparation for complete renunciation. Hence *Pravajja* meant complete surrender of the self, with the ultimate objective of "going out". All signs of worldly life had to be left behind. Pupils from all the castes were admitted to the Sangha. There was no injunction that the teachers were to be Brahmins only.

After *Pravajja*, the pupil became *Samanera* or *Pravajit* i. e. novice. He had to be clad in saffron uniform and abide by the educational commandments. He had to take a vow to abstain from telling a lie, drinking liquor, taking a thing which was not a gift, impure practices, untimely feed, participating in songs and dances, using garland, scent, and ornaments, using a high seat, accepting gold and silver. This Buddhistic version of the life of a novice resembled Hindu *Brahmacharya*. *Upasampada* was equivalent of Hindu *Samavartan*. This was the function to terminate 12 year education. The philosophies behind *Samavartan* and *Upasampada* were, however, different. The former was termination of formal education for entry into the second

cycle of Chaturasrama *i.e.* family life, while the latter was termination of formal education for admission into the order of Monks.

While admission through Prayajja was determined by the single Upadhyaya—Acharya, the conferment of monkhood was a prerogative of the Sangha as a whole. The Upasampada ritual was performed before the entire Sangha. Special assemblies were convened. An individual teacher presented the student before the house and prayed for Upasampada. The student himself announced absolute submission to the Order. He had to face a volley of questions. The house gave a verdict and the eligible candidate was declared a graduate. From then was calculated his spiritual age.

The Snataka then received a sermon that he must depend on his begging bowl, must wear rags, sleep under the shade of trees and use cow's urine as medicine. The snataka was simultaneously placed under 4 injunctions that he must shun sexual relations, hate stealing, abstain from homicide, and abstain from boasting of super-human powers. Thus, Upasampada had a rational basis free from mysticism.

(19) Brahmacharya

The Brahmanic system was organised on the basis of some universal aims, practices and rituals. The students had to practise a particular art of living. The total configuration of practices and rituals during studenthood was Brahmacharya. The curriculum and length of study might change ; but the system, methods and modes of discipline did not. In fact, the Rishis propounded an immutable art of life which was Brahmacharya.

The Brihadaranyaka says that there could be no power or energy without Brahmacharya, and no knowledge without power. Jabala Satyakama says to Gosruti that knowledge of self may come through Dhyana and Samadhi. From the story of Goutama and Jabala Satyakama we come to know that Character was more valued than Gotra and one who unflinchingly followed "truth" was a Brahmin. When such a genuine Brahmin attained the Atma (through Dhyana, Aradhana and Tapasya), even wealth, son or heaven seemed insignificant for him and he could give up the minutest desire for the greatest worldly happiness.

Rabindranath (in 'Siksha Samasya') gives a nice analysis of what Brahmacharya was. It did not simply mean austerity. People of the material worldly life are prone to be misguided by the illusory allure-

ments of pleasure. They may be pestered with ideas and urges to distract them from calm and serene restfulness of mind. For a normal and natural development of manhood and human qualities, immature perversion and tense excitement of extraneous luxury and un'oly stimulus must be guarded against. Evidently, regulated and disciplined life was the essence of Brahmacharya.

Brahmacharya started with Upanayana which meant a second birth. The first birth was bodily, the second birth was spiritual. After Upanayana, the Brahmin became internally and externally a new man. To build his new life, he had to observe certain rules *i.e.* Vinaya. The regulations were both physical and spiritual. Physical Vinaya came through austere living, daily work, begging etc. Spiritual Vinaya came through Srama (self control), Tapa (austerity), Diksha (regulated life) and unconcernedness. External Vinaya *i.e.* physical discipline prepared the spiritual field and created a condition of mind essential for knowledge of the Brahman. A lifelong effort to acquire sense control, self control, calmness and purity in living was a precondition for ultimate knowledge. The Upanishadas emphasised upon moral steadfastness. Those who were *sānta*, *dānta*, *uparata* and who acquired *dama*, *dāna*, *daya*, *śaddhā*, *satya* were only fit for ultimate knowledge. The concept of an eternal truth was the core of education. Hence Brahmacharya was equivalent to education. All students had to observe it compulsorily, women not excepted.

During Brahmacharya, the student had to observe celibacy and moral chastity, and had to shun comfort and luxury. Use of scents and garlands, umbrella or shoes, dancing and rivelling, lying and backbiting had to be shunned. He had to be free from desire, anger, greed, lust, violence, hatred and the like. Vinaya and self control constituted his aims and means.

(20) Discipline

The Rishis conceived of education as illumination, freedom, salvation and unity with Atman. Hence, self culture and self realisation constituted the basic aim of education. In the narrow sense, education meant deliberately designed instruction, training and influence. Vinaya meant living out in a particular way.

The chief aim being realisation of the fundamental truths of life and solution of the problem of death by merging the individual self in the Universal to avoid change, decay and dissolution, the Rishis

formulated a corresponding scheme of life and values. The student could go to the depths by 'manana' and 'nididhyasana'. The ideal self was attainable through 'manana', the social self through 'bidhi'. The educational atmosphere was, therefore, full of self application, meditation, Yoga and Tapasya. The whole scheme was formalised through Upanayana, Gurukul, teacher-pupil relation, sanjama and hermitage. The outcome was discipline of body, mind, intellect and spirit. Even in the Epic Age, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana upheld moral and social virtues. Military education was disciplinary education. In fact the total concept of Brahmanic education was equivalent to the concept of discipline. Problems of discipline could not therefore arise.

This tradition continued in Buddhist education too. The ideal was Nirvan. Through Pravajja, the student became a Samanera. He had to take the vow of Triple Refuge. He had to observe certain restrictions bearing upon morality. The student's daily life was well regulated. He had to beg in accordance with specific rules. Not more than 3 meals a day could be permissible. The dietary list was symbolic of austerity and purity. Individual luxury was decried. Service, sacrifice, moral purity formed the cornerstones of education for Nirvan.

Evidently, Buddhist education was also disciplinary education. It meant an absorbed way of life attained through renunciation. Hence, problems of discipline could not arise in Buddhist education either.

(21) The Role of Society and State

Society and State could not be unconcerned of an education which was integrated with social life and activities. True it is that there was no State System of education in ancient India. The teacher was all powerful in determining the curricula and syllabi, methods of teaching, admission, standardisation and evaluation. But the society and the State came forward to maintain the system of education which benefited the society. Monarchs like Janaka and Parikshit or Kings of Kashi-Kosala-Videha and subsequently the Mourya, Kushan, Gupta and Pala sovereigns, Kings of Kanauj and the Deccan were great patrons of learning. They provided scholarships and pensions. They convened debating assemblies, granted rent-free land, and appointed learned men as Amatyas and Ministers. The richer sections of society including the Sresthis followed in the wake of monarchs. Even the

poorest citizen contributed his mite and filled the begging bowl of the Brahmachari. This extensive patronage made education "free", the teacher's burden being borne by the society.

The Buddhistic Viharas were maintained by gifts from kings, courtiers, sresthis and the common people. Many copper plates refer to gifts of land. Local people tilled the landed estate of the Vihar. Moreover, learned persons were appointed royal officers. Kings organised assemblies and debates at their courts. The victorious debaters were amply rewarded. Pundits were classified according to erudition and honoured accordingly. This extensive patronage contributed to the growth of mighty Universities in Buddhistic India.

(22) Centres of Learning

In the Early Vedic era, the centres of learning had developed in the North West frontier regions *i.e.* Gandhar-Puru area. In course of time, due to the migration of the focal point of culture to the Mrdhyadesha, the centres of learning also shifted. Sacrificial centres became centres of learning. With the rise of monarchy, the royal courts also witnessed the assembly of Pundits. The capital towns of Kashi, Videha, Kosala, Panchala, Madra and Ayodhya thus became centres of learning. With the expansion of Aryan culture to the Deccan, the temples and pilgrim centres in Chalukya, Pallava, Rashtrakuta and Chola kingdoms became centres of learning. Institutions were attached to temples which were abundant in the South. On the other hand, institutions of all-India importance grew up at Varanasi, Mithila, Nadia etc.

Sacred *Varanasi* attracted pilgrims from all parts of India. Learned men could not but visit the place. Many of them settled here and conducted Tols and Chatuspathis. Gradually Varanasi became a centre of learning where, as Hiu-en-Tsang says, many schools of thought co-existed.

Mithila, during King Janaka, developed as a centre of Brahmanic learning. Learned men from Kuru and Panchal assembled there. The fame of Mithila lived long. This was the centre of educational activities of Jagaddhara, Pakshadhara, Vasudeva and Gangesh Upadhyay. Mithila was a great centre of Nyaya Philosophy. On the other hand, Vidyapati was a poet from Mithila. Emperor Akbar made a huge endowment to Raghunandan Rai for his erudition. The recipient, in his turn, transferred the title as homage to Mahesh Thakur, his Guru.

This was the origin of the Darbhanga Raj family. Students from all parts of India thronged to Mithila schools of Nyaya Philosophy. This fame continued till the end of the 16th Century. Gradually, however, with the rise of *Nadia* as a centre of Nyaya learning, the prestige of Mithila had declined.

The Buddhistic seats of learning also evolved to greatness. In the early phases, the places associated with the activities of the Buddha had been important. The Viharas at Venuvana, Rajagriha, Sravasti, Vaisali, Kapilavastu were important. Importance was gradually acquired by Taxila, Sarnath, Vallavi, Purushpura, Magadh and Gaya.

Buddhist education had received mighty royal patronage. Educational centres developed in the metropolitan cities. The influence of Indian education spread far and wide, across the seas and beyond the mountains. During the Gupta era, the two systems coexisted. Buddhistic Viharas received consistent royal patronage. This tradition led the Hindu Kings of the Deccan, in the post-Gupta era, to offer patronage to Buddhistic learning too. In northern India, the institutions like Nalanda and Vikramsila universities represented the mighty achievements of the day.

(23) Educational Institutions

The basic institution of learning in Vedic era was the *Gurukul*. Each Gurukul was self-sufficient and independent. Men of learning from different Gurukuls sometimes assembled to discuss vital issues. This was the *Brahmana-Sangha*. Thus developed the system of debates, discussions, seminars and learned circles.

In the early phases, the Guru delivered oral lessons. In course of time, students began editing and codifying the viewpoints of teachers. Differences crept into the edited versions. These differences led to the growth of *Sakha*, *Charana*, *Kula*, *Gotra* and similar circles. These were brotherhoods determined by educational principles. Kula and Gotra were not originally determined by lineage or blood. Belongingness to a particular school of thought led by a particular guru created this close relationship and members were considered sons of the same father.

The Aranyaka period followed the Veda-Brahmana periods. In the settled condition of life under the influence of philosophical spiritualism, the genius of the Rishis led to the establishment of

Tapovans as that of Kulapati Sanaka in the Naimisha forest with 10 thousand students, and that of Rishi Bharadwaja at Prayaga.

Another very important institution was the *Parishad*—which literally meant “collective sitting”. It was a debating circle or society of learned men from the discussions of which advanced students might gain a lot. Different monarchs convened such *Parishads* to seek the verdict of the Elite on vital and debatable problems. According to Gautama, 4 Pundits well versed in the Vedas, 3 persons representing the three *Asramas* of life and 3 Experts in law, constituted a *Parishad*. Vasistha also gives a similar opinion. Manu, however, placed more emphasis upon the qualities of persons forming a *Parishad* than the numbers. In fact, persons well versed in the Vedas, *Sruti*, *Smriti*, *Kalpa* etc. might get a place on the *Parishad*. The meeting of such experts endeavoured to offer answers to problems placed before it. Wider conferences of Rishis were not unknown to Ancient India.

We have, in these days, some professional bodies or elite circles e.g. Bangiya Sanskrita Parishad or Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. These institutions are but faint imitations of the ancient *Parishad*, for they do not perform such duties as the *Parishad* had once done.

In the *Sutra* period, the need for specialisation led to the growth of *Sutra Schools*. A further development of the *Sutra School* was the *Chatuspathi* with which we are acquainted even to-day. Institutions which provided four specialised courses were *Chatuspathis*. Grammar, *Kalpa*, *Purana* and Philosophy were generally offered as fields of specialisation. From *Chatuspathi* again developed the *Tol*. There were three main types of *Tol*. Subjects offered in the first type were *Vyakarana*, *Kavya* and *Purana*. Those in the second type were *Kalpa* and *Purana*. In the third type were offered Philosophy and *Nyaya*.

Educational colonies developed in the places where *Parishads* were frequently called. Different types of Schools and *Chatuspathis* grew up there. Famous teachers attracted students from all over India to these places. These corporate colonies of teachers and students were the ancient Indian *Universities*. These were not federated bodies with self perpetuating rules and regulations. Many teachers in varied disciplines inhabiting a particular locality facilitated the student body to receive highest learning in subjects of choice. In the opinion of Gautama and Manu, a settlement of 10 teachers might be designated as a University. Vasistha reduced the number to four. Of course, the

number was not a serious problem, because famous seats of learning attracted many persons of erudition. These Universities organised seminars to solve social problems placed before them. Thus a link existed between the Common man and the University.

The *Buddhist Universities*, however, represented a new element. The large Viharas meant for residential pupilage of prospective monks were the Buddhist Universities. The Sangh concept dominated here. They were federated bodies guided by distinctive rules and regulations as well as controlled by an organised hierarchy.

(24) University of Taxila

Taxila University had originated in the Brahmanic era and existed till the Buddhist era, thereby enjoying a long life. Moreover, it had functioned as a link between the two systems of education. Situated in the capital of ancient Gandhara, this University experienced a chequered career as is evident from archaeological discoveries at three places near Rawalpindi. It had been located on the path treaded by foreign invaders viz. the Persians, the Greeks & Bactrians, the Sakas and Kushans etc. The fate of the city of Taxila determined to a great extent the fate of the University. Foreign scripts, arts and literature also influenced it since it lay on the foreigners' road to the heart of India.

Taxila University was no federated collective body. Men of erudition had assembled here, and they attracted students from far and wide. Each teacher and each school had the right of self determination. There was no external terminal examination in the manner of the public examinations of today, nor any external certification. Yet, it was famous for its standard of learning. Prosenjit, Jivaka, Panini and Kautilya were products of Taxila. In fact, the fame of teachers and students created the fame of Taxila.

Taxila was a centre of highest learning. Students were admitted at about 16+, after they had attained a particular standard of education. Generally the pupils resided with the teachers. But well-to-do students might make their own arrangements. There were licensed hostels also. A system of tuition fees was in vogue in some of the schools. But very often rich citizens provided their maintenance and tuition. Excepting the Chandala, there was little discrimination on the grounds of caste, class and wealth. Whatever the origin, all students had to observe strict discipline and principles of controlled life.

The Taxila curricula included the three Vedas, various sciences and arts, vocational subjects. Astronomy, astrology, commerce, agriculture, accountancy, the art of magic, hunting, archery, snake charming, medicine, dancing and drawing were popular fields of interest. Abstract learning was sought to be combined with practical efficiency. Some specialised schools existed separately for Brahmins and Kshatriyas. Formal instruction was terminated with an educational tour.

The fame of Taxila continued unabated till the Kushan era whereafter it declined. Fa Hien had seen very little of importance here. The subsequent Hun troubles caused further damage. Hiu-en-Tsang found no signs of its glory or life in the 7th century.

(25) Nalanda

Nalanda was a typical Buddhist University, and most famous by its nature and its role. Jaina and Buddhist literary works refer to Nalanda. The original Vihara is said to have been built by Emperor Asoka at the birth place of Sariputta. Hiu-en-Tsang recorded an eye-witness account of what Nalanda had been. Archaeological relics have been discovered seven miles to the north of Rajgir.

Although originally founded by Asoka, the university attained its highest glory in the era of Mahayan Buddhism. Nourished by the donations of 500 Sresthis, the institution lived a long life encompassing the Gupta and Harsha eras, reaching upto the Pala period. The dimension of the physical plant can be imagined from an account of I-Tsing who had seen 200 villages on the walled campus of the University.

Wide roads stretched from the gates to the university buildings. Around the main building, there were multistoreyed buildings and temples raising their pinnacles high into the sky. On the campus were flower beds and lotus ponds. But the simple life of the students stood in contradistinction to this external grandeur. Education was free. Four essential requisites of life—food, clothings, bedding and medicine were provided free of cost.

Nalanda was a centre for Post-graduate specialisation. The age for admission was 20 years. If juniors were admitted, they had to attend preparatory courses for several years. Admission was selective. Only those who successfully completed the admission test conducted by the Dwarapandit, were admitted. As low as 20 per cent of the aspirants came out successful. In spite of this stiff testing, students

from India and abroad thronged to Nalanda because a scholar from Nalanda enjoyed a high academic prestige in after-life. 1500 teachers took classes with 8500 students in different rooms in as many as 100 subjects, all through the day in accordance with a time table.

Nalanda curricula consisted of Brahmanic and Buddhistic scriptures, religious and popular works, Arts and Sciences alike, combining theory with practice. The curriculum included the 4 Vedas, Buddhist Scriptures, Philosophy, Hetu, Sabda, Medicine, Linguistics, Law, Astronomy, Sankhya, Sanskrit and Panini etc. Discussions and debates were important elements of teaching technology. Self study was much valued. Three great libraries—Ratnadadhi, Ratnasagara and Ratnaranjaka housed in 3 buildings facilitated self study.

Education at Nalanda was no doubt religion-based. But, by that time Buddhism had acquired a new character. The impact of Hinduism also influenced this character. A new school of art led by Bitpal and Dhiman was a special achievement. This art form continued in the Pala era. A school of literature was also born. Education at Nalanda was not academic and bookish only. It was creative.

The fame of teachers created the fame of Nalanda. Hiu-en-Tsang himself refers to Dharmapala, Gunamati, Jinamitra and Shilabhadra. The teachers enjoyed different titles in accordance with the criteria of erudition and responsibility. The *Kulapati* was the head of the institution. But the administrative pattern was democratic. Students themselves solved their problems of discipline. In fact the adjusted and corporate life of teachers and pupils from different places and different groups brought a real glory to Nalanda. This synthesis had attracted pupils from beyond Indian borders. From China had come Fa Hien, Hiu-en-Tsang, Tao Hi, I-Tsing etc. and Tao Ling from Korea. Students had come from Ceylon, Sumatra, Java and Tibet. This international appeal had inspired Kumarajiva, Gunavarman, Paramartha and others to undertake Dharmayatra in China, Tibet and other lands.

I-Tsing had witnessed the glory of Nalanda. But the glory waned from the last part of the 8th Century inspite of patronage from Tibet and the kings of Gauda. With the decline of Pala power, Nalanda also declined and decayed. When internal life was weakened by factionalism and intra-group rivalries, the last minstrel was sung by Bakhtiyar Khalji and other invaders.

(26) Vikramsila

Vikramsila Mahavihara enjoyed the patronage of the Pala kings. Emperor Dharmapala had founded this university in Northern Bihar on the bank of the Ganga, near Bhagalpore. At the centre of the campus inside a massive surrounding wall stood the Mahabodhi temple. Around it were 53 smaller temples and 54 other buildings. There were 108 wardens for this total number of 108 units of building. In addition, there were teaching, nonteaching and supervisory staff viz Acharya, Upacharya, Upadhyaya, work-supervisors and executive personnel.

The administration of the Vihara vested in a management committee composed of teachers. The famous Pala kings were patrons simultaneously of Nalanda and Vikramsila. King Dharmapala was the Acharya for both of them. It may be assumed that the managers of Vikramsila helped the management of Nalanda. Interchange of teachers and students was a regular practice. Dipankar Sreejnan and Abhoykar Gupta had worked as professors at both the universities.

On the campus of Vikramsila there were six colleges around Jnanabhawan. The six colleges had one door each facing the Jnanabhawan, with a Dwarapandita as keeper. On the two sides of the main gate the portraits of Nagaryuna and Dipankara were painted in murals. The most learned teacher was selected as Kulapati. During Dharmapala, this office was held by Buddhajnanapada. Of course, the most famous of the Kulapatis of Vikramsila was Dipankar Sreejnan Atisha. Here also the preceptors constituted the real glory of the university. Jnanapada, Probhakaramati, Jnanasrimitra, Atisha were but a few of them. Even today, the Tibetans respect these holy names for the spread of Buddhism in Tibet.

Nothing is definitely known of the curricula at Vikramsila because it was so thoroughly destroyed as to leave no material evidence. It may be assumed that the curricula, rules and regulations closely resembled those at Nalanda.

We are fortunate to have discovered the relics of Nalanda. We are equally unfortunate in getting none of Vikramsila. It is recorded in *Tabaqut-i-Nasari* that the invading Turko-Afghan armies took this walled university for a fort-town. They demolished the structure and put the inhabitants to sword. The few that could escape this

carnage sought refuge in Tibet. None was found to decipher the few manuscripts that could be salvaged out of the debris. It was subsequently learnt that the destroyed edifices had constituted a mighty university. Vikramsila was destroyed. Yet Vikramsila continued to live a long life in the history of Tibet.

Other Universities

A short account of Valabhi and Jagaddala may also be attempted. *Valabhi University* was located in the capital of the Maitraka kings of Western India, and acquired high reputation between 475 and 775 A.D. Its first benefaction had come from Princess Dudda, daughter of King Dhruva I. A second remarkable benefaction came from King Dharasena in 580 A.D. Both Hiu-en-Tsang and I-Tsing testify to the glory of this Buddhist University with 100 Sangharams, 6000 Priests and varied curricular subjects. Sthiramati and Gunamati were famous scholars attached to this University. This centre of learning also offered secular subjects, and scholars from here were easily recruited for state services. Valabhi had attained so much glory that during the visits of the above named Chinese pilgrims it was a rival of Nalanda.

Jagaddala Mahavihara in Bengal was founded by the Pala King Rampala (1084-1130 AD) at Ramavati, his capital town built at the confluence of Ganga and Karatoya. Famous scholars attached to this University were Bibhuti Chandra, Danasila, Subhakar, Mokshakaragupta etc. This university was not blessed with a long life. It was swept away by Turko-Afghan invasion in 1203 A.D.

Mention may also be made of Somepore Vihara, remains of which have been excavated at Paharpur in Rajshahi (Bangladesh). Remains have been found of a walled Vihara with yards and temples. The number of rooms (so far discovered) was 117. The remains of another big establishment have been found at Mainamati flanked by the Lalmai Hills near Comilla in Bangladesh. These relics abundantly prove that mighty educational institutions had sprung up also in ancient Bengal.

(27) Nadia

Nadia was the youngest of the ancient Indian Universities. Even as a small entity it had attracted the attention of the Pala Kings although its real glory was attained in the post Buddha period.

particularly when Nadia became a capital of Luxman Sena. Poet Joydev of 'Geeta Govind' fame, Dhoyee, the author of Pavanaduta, poet Umapati or lawgiver Sulapani were associated with Nadia. Luxmanasena's minister himself was a man of great erudition.

The fame of Nadia as a centre of Hindu learning continued even through the days of Sultani and Badshahi. In fact, the decline of Nalanda and Vikramsila enhanced the importance of Nadia. Previously learners from Bengal had to visit Mithila for highest type of Nyaya learning. Raghunath Siromani of Nadia turned the scale by vanquishing the Pundits of Mithila. By the end of the 15th Century Basudev Sarbahbouma founded the Nadia School of Philosophy. Graduation degrees were awarded from Nadia independently. Scholars from here were renowned for debating skill and original researches. Gadadhar Bhattacharya, the famous debater was a graduate from Nadia. The legendary Ramnath (Buno Ramnath) was a teacher here.

Nadia witnessed the growth of many schools of thought, Raghunandan's Smriti School, Krishnananda Agamvagish's School of Tantrism, Ramsundar Vidyanidhi's School of Astronomy were but a few of them.

The glory of Nadia continued undiminished till the end of the 18th Century. In the said century the activities of the University were dispersed at 3 centres—Navadwip, Santipur and Gopalpara. In the last part of the 18th Century, Navadwip alone could claim the glory of having 400 students and 150 teachers. Post Graduate instruction was imparted in the Chatuspathis of Navadwip. Discussion and debating circles were still active. Even today Navadwip enjoys a tradition of Sanskrit learning and has a few Tols, although not in a state of prosperity.

South India

Southern India was specially fortunate in having colleges endowed by Temple Charities. South India, with an abundance of temples had also an abundance of schools. Numerous inscriptions and copper plates found distributed in the territories of the Pallava, Chalukya, Rashtrakuta and Chola kingdoms speak amply of royal donations and public benefactions for education. As a matter of example we may refer to a few of them.

(1) A big college at *Salotgi* (in Bijapur district) founded by Narayana, a minister of Rashtrakuta Krishna III had as many as 27 hostels and more than 300 acres of land-endowment. It was the local custom that every householder donated a few coins on ceremonial occasions, the rates being 5 coins at marriage ceremony, $2\frac{1}{2}$ coins at Upanayana and $1\frac{1}{2}$ coins at Chudakarma. (2) There was a Pallava College with 190 students and 12 teachers for imparting lessons in the *Veas* and 7 teachers for the Sutra department. (3) Respectable colleges existed at *Tiruvorrayur* and also at *Malkapuram* (Guntur district). (4) King Bhoja of Malwa founded one big college at his capital *Dhara*. Belasur in Mysore was also a famous seat of learning. Under royal and social patronage there developed throughout Southern India learned settlements of Chaturvedis, Trivedis, Bhattas, Kramavids, Vajapeyins etc. In fact, every Matha (temple) could boast of a school attached to it and maintained mainly from the earnings of the matha itself.

This tradition still continues in the South. It is worthy of note in this connection that the famous Tirupati temple maintains a full fledged University—the Venkatasaram University.

(28) Kautilya and Megasthenes on Education and culture

That education was held in high esteem in the last three centuries before Christ is amply reflected in 'Indika' of Megasthenes and 'Arthashastra' of Chanakya-Kautilya. Megasthenes had been a Greek Ambassador at the Mauryan Court (Pataliputra). He recorded what he had seen and heard. He could not verify every item of information. Obviously some hearsay got mixed up with facts. On the whole, however, Indika tallies with Arthashastra with the exception of some details. Historians have differences on the question of Kautilya's chronology. There is, however, unanimity on the point that his advent occurred in the Maurya period. Kautilya was a law giver and socio-political philosopher. Many aspects of Arthashastra may, therefore, refer to what 'should be,' more than what 'was'. Yet, on the whole, Megasthenes and Kautilya corroborate each other and they together throw some light on the socio-cultural life in the period concerned.

That education was highly valued is borne out by Chanakya Slokas, Mahabharata, Hitopadesha, Panchatantra etc. A few of them may be cited—(English rendering of the meaning done by the author).

(1) Even royal position cannot equal that of a learned man : the

king is honoured in his own kingdom, the learned is honoured every where.

(2) High lineage is ineffective without learning ; even the Gods honour the learned one even though born in a lowly state.

(3) The moon ornaments the night . the king ornaments the kingdom ; learning ornaments everyone.

(4) The parents who do not care for the education of the offspring are enemies of the offspring. The unlettered boy is despised in learned assemblies.

(5) There is no greater friend than learning, no worse enemy than disease.

(6) Learn even from the lowly.

(7) Bookish learning and accumulation of wealth come to no help in times of emergency.

Arthashastra says "Youngmen are impressionable. Whatever is taught, they accept as Sastra. Hence teach righteousness and deter them from vice. Princes should be graded as intelligent and capable, indolent and perverse, according to their response to teaching".

Schools are not particularly mentioned, but the practice of reading and writing was extensive in those days. It may be assumed that monastic schools existed in numbers. There was, therefore, a general spirit of enlightenment. It is gathered from Jaina and Buddhist records, that Chanakya had Chandragupta I, (founder of the Mourya Empire) educated at Taxila which had been an important centre of learning in those days, giving lessons in the Vedas, Sippas, Law, Medicine, Military Science etc. One school had 101 Princes, and a military academy had 103 princes as students. It was here that Chandragupta had a meeting with Alexander the Great.

Kautilya gives an account of King's education. In his opinion, under a good preceptor the course should be heavy. The first requisite is discipline comprising qualities like (a) desire for learning, (b) cultivation of truth, (c) grasping what is learnt, (d) retaining what is learnt, (e) knowledge of ways and means to achieve (in practice) the truth learnt, (f) capacity to draw inferences, (g) capacity to participate in deliberations. "It is the disciplined mind only that can be educated."

The course consisted of Mathematics, Literature (3 Vedas, Philosophy, Economics, Political Science), Military Training, History, Dharma Sastra, Arthashastra, Dandaniti etc. The learner must

practise complete control of passions and should always seek the association of elders to increase knowledge. Although this course is prescribed for the Prince, it throws valuable light on the state of education in those days.

Till the time of Kautilya there had been four schools of political thought and seven recognised authors. Kautilya established a near monopoly in this field. The Vidyas consisted of Philosophy and Trayi *i.e.*, Theology, Varta *i.e.* economics, Dandaniti *i.e.* politics. Thus, politics was developed as an independent branch of study. From Kautilya we come to know that Indians developed an advanced idea of the State and had a fairly advanced idea of International Law, and side by side they had developed Varta (Economics). Arthashastra became a standard. Kamasutra and Yajnavalkya Smriti borrowed extensively from it. Bana and Dandin refer to it. And Kamadaka set himself to making it simpler and more concise. Yet he developed no new edition. Our immediate interest lies in the fact that Kautilyan political science was an important subject of study in the scheme of education of the upper classes.

Kautilya, however, upheld Varnasrama and Chaturasrama. Magasthenes divided the Indian population into 7 castes viz. (a) the sophists *i.e.* Brahmanas and Sramanas. They were of two categories—those who lived a simple life, observed abstentions, and held discourses and those who lived householders' life. The Brahmins formed the apex of the society. As Purohitas and Preceptors they influenced politics, administration and legislation through the Parishad. Their social position was pre-eminent. As per Kautilya, they enjoyed exemption from taxation, confiscation of property, corporal punishment, slavery and death penalty. Brauding and banishment were the maximum measures for them. But the Brahmin did not belong to the society as such. He was in the world, not of the world. His true work was study and teaching in hermitage. But Kautilya disfavours early renunciation or worldly irresponsibility, and gives no quarters to unlicensed ascetics.

The 2nd, 3rd and 4th Castes of Magasthenes were Vaisyas and Sudras. The Kshatriyas constituted the 5th caste. They performed only military duties and enjoyed the peace time. Imdika, however, does not refer to Kshatriyas as such. Obviously, the Kshatriya caste was still in the making and did not yet constitute a well-formed caste.

Kautilya, however, goes a step ahead to divide the society in a four fold Varnasramik pattern.

The 6th class of Megasthenes was constituted of informers (overseers) and the 7th class was formed with Councillors and Assessors occupying Govt posts of different grades.

Evidently Megasthenes made a confusion between caste and class or craft or occupation. Leaving aside the question of this confusion, it is a definitely established historical fact that the Mourya Empire had developed a well established and efficient bureaucracy. The important public servants were recruited through a sort of public service commission which administered a searching test. In a well organised and bureaucratic system of administration the State required a hierarchy of officers specialised in the different branches of rural and revenue administration, urban administration and manufacturing enterprises, military organisation etc. All these officers were specifically trained and recruited. There must have been an effective system of education with specialisation in theory and practice.

Kautilyan dictates signify a stereotyped society based upon Varnasrama. The Arthashastra refers to slavery although it speaks against slavery of Aryans. Evidently the lowest strata of society were socially outcastes. The position of women was lower than what it had been in the Vedic days. Dramas of Bhasa and Kalidasa show that Purdah was existent. Vatsyana's Kamasutra (3rd/4th Century A.D.) also shows it. Arthashastra refers to Antapura. Asokan edicts speak of Avarodhanas and Panini speaks of Asuryampasya. Kautilya was prior to Manu or Jajnavalkya. Kautilya allows divorce on consent of both husband and wife. Manu allows the husband's right of divorce and desertion and enjoins unconditional obedience and fidelity of the wife. Kautilya allows remarriage in certain cases, while Manu does not. Evidently the education of women had declined with the declination of the social position of women.

In another direction, however, the Maurya period had achieved a great success. Cottage crafts and manufacturing industries were highly organised. Megasthenes and Kautilya refer to cotton, metal, shipbuilding, mining, oil, salt manufacturing, sugar, dairy, armament industries etc. There were 18 chief handicrafts viz wood, leather, stone, ivory, smithy, jewellery, painting etc. The training of personnel was provided by manufacturing guilds (srenis) or merchant guilds. There was also a well organised medical service with open dispensaries

for men and Pinjrapoles for animals. There were charitable dispensaries with lands granted by the state to physicians. Medical farms are also referred to. This signifies the existence of an extensive system of medical education.

Mouryan art also deserves special mention. Art critics say that Mourya Architectural features were Persian while the living forms were Hellenic in influence. Vigorous Bactria had vitalised Iranian art. Similarly the Bactrian influence came to India. But it was Indianized. The use of stone was Pre-Asokan. At least one pre-Asokan stone image has been discovered. The enclosure wall of a Nagara has been found in Rajputana. Jarasandh Ki Baithak at Rajgir is also pre-Asokan. The Asuras had been great builders. The Rik Veda refers to seven-walled city, iron-walled city, hundred cities of stone, 1000 doored and 1000 columned royal palace etc. Chiselling and polishing of stone was an achievement of the Mauryas. Rocks and columns of Asoka, however, bear Achaemenian influence.

Another intellectual achievement of the period was the widespread existence of writing and the development of scripts. Two scripts were vehicles of culture. The Ksharostri was derived from Ksharostira, a country near but outside India. It was of semitic origin and written from right to left. Prevalent in Persia and Egypt it was derived from Aramian script and bore Achaemenian influence. It flourished in the North-West frontier region and neighbouring areas (the Shabazgarhi and Mansera Edicts were inscribed in this script) and died a natural death by about the 5th century A.D. The other was the Brahmi script (emanating from Brahma!) with a prehistoric origin (traces have been found in Hyderabad) and written from left to right. This was the script for the rest of India and became the script for Burma, Ceylon and Tibet.

Asokan inscriptions also throw light on the dialects prevalent in the period. The pillar edicts in Madhyadesha use one common dialect. The Rock Edicts at Dhauli, Jaugarh, Kalsi also follow the Madhyadesha dialect. But the dialect in Shabazgarhi, Mansera and Girnir inscriptions is different. This shows the influence of local dialects upon language patterns in Madhyadesha, Uttarapatha, Dakshinapatha etc. The mode of pronunciation was peculiar to a class, people or country. Bharata even says that Sanskrit and Prakrit are not two languages, but two modes of speech. He recognises four languages—Abhibhasa of the Gods, Aryabhasa of

the kings, Jatibhasha of various castes & tribes, Jatyantaribhasha of birds & beasts. The first two are sanskrita (polished).

Evidently, the language of Asoka was the language of Panini, Kautilya, Patanjali, the former represented Prakrit, the latter Sanskrita. There were three phonetic peculiarities in Madhyadesha, Uttarapatha and Dakshinapatha. They contributed the three main dialects, and the norm was the language of the Grammarians. Panini wrote for the 'sishta'. Rudradamana inscription shows that till 150 B. C. there was very little use of Sanskrit in inscriptions. Discovered inscriptions (between 300 B. C. and 100 A. D.) are all in a sort of Pali based upon vernacular. Yet, there is at least one Asokan epigraph written in Sanskrit. On the whole, Monumental Prakrit was lingua franca for seven centuries (200 B.C. to 450 A.D.) with local variations.

Asoka's objective behind the inscribed edicts was (in Asoka's own version) transmission to posterity in an enduring form the thoughts, feelings and motives of the emperor. Reading ability of the people had surely been extensive. In the Bhabru Edict he mentions some canonical texts which were essentially to be studied by men of good intention. They are (a) Vinaya Samukase, (b) Arya Vamsa, (c) Anagata Bhayani, (d) Muni Sutta, (e) Nalaka Sutta, (f) Rathavinita Sutta, and (g) Rahulavada Sutta.

Asokan inscriptions and edicts spread learning within the boundaries of the extensive Maurya Empire. His Missions spread Indian learning abroad. Asoka's neighbours were Antiochus, king of Babylon and Persia, Ptolemy II Philadelphos, king of Egypt, Antigonus Gonatus, king of Macedon, Magas, king of Cyrene and Alexander, king of Epirus. Asokan influence spread to their kingdoms.

Asoka sent missions to Western Asia, Ceylon & Far East. Non-official missions went to the Himalayan regions, Suvarnabhumi, Lanka etc. India's education and culture spread in these regions and created a lasting impact on the history and culture of the world.

(29) Impact of the past upon the present

With changes in objective conditions, the ancient system of education did naturally crumble down. But our language, literature, rites and ceremonies bore the effects of tradition. Even in the early part of the 19th century the Oriental—Occidental controversy brought our strong sentiments to the surface. As against Occidentalism there

arose a strong plea for Classicism. In their fight against Rammohan Roy and the Young Bengal, the traditionalist school of Radhakanta Dev had the demand for traditional classicism inscribed on their banner.

In a changed context, the glories of the old featured on a new canvas of Revivalism in the early years of the current century. The Gurukul movement, the educational aspects of the Arya Samaj and Ramkrishna Mission, Tagore's Tapovan and Gandhiji's rural education scheme were modern adaptations of the ancient style and substance. We became conscious of the classical language and our achievements in the past. Above all, the demand for spiritual value in education was raised by Indian educators from various platforms.

But the past must be accepted as past. Many of our *sobres* values were lost under the wheels of mediævalism. Modern life destroyed whatever we still had. A new way of life, new social, political and economic institutions have come into existence. In a changed system of values, there can be no resurrection of the ancient system of education. Yet we may graft and adopt some of the positive features of ancient education with necessary reforms and modifications.

Responsibility of family and society in education, close relation between labour and education, education for morality and discipline, vocational education, social service, democratic elements in education, individualised instruction combined with debates and discussions, educational tours, close teacher-pupil relation in a system of 'free' education, social position of the teacher, humanistic and international appeal in education, state patronage etc., are features which may claim sufficient validity even today, of course with necessary modifications to suit our present life and pattern of education.

(30) Panini and Patanjali on Education

The Sutra literature bridges the time gap between Panini and Patanjali. A wide range of literary creations had already been made even before Panini. Panini and Patanjali consolidated the field of knowledge and established a literary standard.

Pre-Panini literature, with which Panini was acquainted, consisted of four kinds—seen, enounced (*prokta*), sutras (*nata*) and discovered (i.e. original work). Panini lent his genius to the last category. Writers on many ordinary subjects also had already taken the field viz. Akhayika, Myths, Kavya, Slokas, Gatha, Mantra, Padapatha etc.

Panini refers to Mahabharata, Yudisthira and Arjun, signifying thereby that the Epic, in its original form, had already been compiled. Patanjali refers to Vasudeva, Valadeva, Nakula, Sahadeva. Patanjali speaks of Nirukta and Vyakarana.

Obviously, Panini was acquainted with a wide range of literature—religious, secular, including Rig, Sama, Yajurvedas and perhaps Aranyakas. He was not acquainted with the Upanishadas. (He does not refer to them). But he had knowledge of Brahma, Kalpa etc. *The range of secular subjects, even before Panini had been wide.* There had been fables and descriptions of life and living of actors, mendicants etc. There had been Akhyanas. Akhyayikas, Itihasa-Purana and other classes of popular literature. The field of knowledge having widened, the curricular subjects in the then system and pattern of education had also grown in numbers, range and depth. Obviously education became *more institutionalised and stereotyped.*

The rules of education, during Panini were :—Initiation was the signal for the start. Upanayana was the formal ceremony and Acharya Karana was the objective. (It meant that the pupil was sought to be developed through education as a teacher of Veda, Kalpa, Rahasya etc. Patanjali refers to the designation of 'Chhatra' meaning one who took shelter under the umbrella-like teacher). According to Panini the marks of pupilage were (i) Antevasin (although there had been day scholars also), (ii) the danda, bowl, begging which were common elements for all. Each student had to take vows (vrata) of Satirthya.

While giving a description of a school, Patanjali says that the teacher sat with the sacred grass in hand facing the east. Although there were prescribed hours of study, studious students might study much more than the limits. Some pupils left the school prematurely. Some others changed schools very frequently. (They were designated as Tirthakakas). Patanjali refers to gifts of coins offered to the teacher. Sometimes, the pupil's father himself functioned as the teacher. The teachers belonged to many categories viz, Acharya, Guru, Sikshaka, Upadhyaya. The Acharya, according to Patanjali, was the exalted type.

The method of study was determined by the curriculum. Panini tells that the Srotريا learnt the Vedas by heart. Patanjali refers to "reading aloud" and "reading low". Panini preferred a gradation of students on the basis of errors committed in recitation. Both Panini and Patanjali refer to "learning by understanding". The latter also

distinguishes memorisation from exercise of intelligence. Yask in Nirukta says that rote learning of the Veda was bad learning because the words of the Vedas were not more important than meanings. Value of understanding was, thus, held high. This revolt against mechanical methods of the study of the Vedas led to philosophical speculations in the Aranyakas and the Upanishadas.

Panini classifies literary men as (i) Rishis who received the revealed knowledge of truth. But the age of Rishis was long gone. Hence he refers to the second class (ii) Promulgators of original works (Prokta viz. Chhanda, Brahman, Kalpa). But such promulgators were few. Katyayana tells of only Yajnyavalka and Sulaṣṭha. Panini then refers to the third class i.e. Bhikshus and Natas who were recognised as discoverers of new knowledge. The fourth class consisted of Krita (neither drishta nor prokta). Commentators belonged to this class.

The literature of the time consisted of (i) inspired literature, (ii) original works connected with traditional literature, (iii) original works embodying new knowledge, (iv) commentaries and (v) ordinary compositions. There were three types of philosophical thinkers viz. astika, nastika, daistika (rationalist). Panini also refers to teachers who were not actual authors. Many teachers of first rank had become famous for the works of their pupils (viz. Kalapa and Vaisampayana). Vedic learning of women was in vogue. Katyayana refers to Brhmadavadinis. Ascetics also contributed to the spread of learning. Panini refers to Parivrajaks and says that inner peace was more religious than external ceremonies. He also refers to Aranyakas i.e. ascetics living at least two miles away from human habitat. Naikatika meant those who lived near human societies.

Spread of learning was, thus, promoted by "books" and men, literature and instrument, teachers and authors, regular training and occasional discourses. Cultural and social institutions connected with education were (i) *Kula*, (ii) *Gotra*—which signified common spiritual ancestry and genealogical relations. Yaska, Atri, Bhrigu, Vasistha, Gotama, Angirsa, Agasthya, Harit, Sunaka, Garga, Kanva were creators of such lineage (Gotra). In a society of patriarchal families, the patriarch i.e., head of the united family was the source-fount of subsequent generations who derived their name from him viz. Garga or Gargacharya was the founder of the Gotra, his eldest son was Gargi, the grandsons were Gargya etc. Other sons were

Yuva, subordinate to the eldest one. For absence of a line of descent, the oldest surviving member of the Gotra became the chief. There was, thus, definite law of succession.

A charana was a Federation of Gotras :—The relationship was spiritual (while the Gotra became more and more a blood relationship). Panini recognises double membership—Vidya Yoni Sambhava. Katyayana tells us that each Charana had its own particular set of traditional texts and customs or practical usages and regulations. Charanas fostered specialisation in both theory and practice. Panini refers to several branches of specialisation viz. Sakala Sakha (recession of the Rig, Kalpa, Charaka etc.) Patanjali adds Kalapaka, and Katyayana adds Atharvans.

This period saw the growth of various special schools viz. Chhandoga, Yajnikas, Natas, Kathikas. Patanjali adds Aitihāsika, Purāṇika, Vaiyākaraṇa, Mīmāṃsaka and others to the list. And lastly Panini also refers to Parishads and women teachers i.e. Upadhyayi, Acharya etc.

On the whole, therefore, the Panini-Patanjali period experienced a well organised system of education.

(31) Social and Psychological basis of Sutra Literature

Ancient India had created six systems of philosophy, the early streaks of which may be traced in Vedic Mantras. The Upanishads represented the meridian of thought. Men and Women, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and even Sudras contributed towards the development of the schools of philosophy. The six systems were—(i) Sankhya (of Kapila); (ii) Yoga (of Patanjali); (iii) Nyaya (of Gautama); (iv) Vaisheshika (of Kamada); (v) Karma or Purva Mimamsa (of Jaimini); (vi) Uttara Mimamsa or Vedanta (of Badarayana).

A system of philosophy was in fact a system of discipline and education through which the pupil acquired his Adhikara. The common system of discipline was Varnasrama. Upanayana, Brahmacharya. Samavartana were 'Samskaras' intended to equip the finite self with a suitable physical body which might sustain the burden of the arduous pursuit of knowledge through life. Ashrama life was a life discipline. Self realisation came by stages through meditation.

A vital social implication of Vedic Education was whether the Sudras were eligible? Smṛiti, Manu and Sankara opine that they were not. But Purbapaksha declares that there was no bar.

Ohhandogya similarly declares against barrier and says that vedic education of sudras had been practised. In fact, there could be no bindings on one who had attained highest knowledge. The intellectual life of the country did not always centre round rituals. The condition precedent to all higher studies was the study of the Vedas. Sudras were excluded from Vedic texts, but not from their wisdom which might be attained through easier works like Mahabharata, Purana etc. The study of the Vedanta only should be reserved for the few.

Much light is thrown on the question of education of the Sudras and women by Jaimini's Mimamsa. As regards the education of women, the points against were that women have no property, and what they have, rest in husband ; they are bought and sold like goods. Points in favour were that women are as good as men in terms of desire and capacity to perform sacrifices ; they control property and their consent is required for gifts ; dowry is prescribed by Smriti not as a commercial transaction ; husband and wife jointly perform Yajnas.

As regards education of the Sudra, emphasis is placed upon merit rather than caste ; disability is limited only to Agneya Yajnas. All without distinction deserving heaven can perform sacrifice. Nyaya system places special emphasis upon character traits and condemns Raga (Kama, Matsara, Spriha, Trishna), Dwesha (Hatred, Irsha, Asuya), and Moha.

Here we come to the *psychological basis of education*. True knowledge comes through meditation i.e. Yoga which involves Yama, Niyama, Pranayama, Pratyahara, Dhyana and Dharana. The concomitant activity is verbal, mental and physical. Knowledge comes when defects are rooted out and all activity ceases.

Unrighteous verbal activity consists of Anrita (lying), Parusha (harsh speech), Asuyana (back biting), Asambaddha (irrelevant talks). *Righteous verbal activity* is Satya-Priya Hita Bachana and Swadhyaya Patha.

Unrighteous mental activity is Paradroha, Paradrabya abhilasha, Nastikamdhyan (irrelevant attitude). *Righteous mental activity* is Aspriha, Anukampa, Paralokasaddha.

Unrighteous bodily activity is Himsa (killing), Steya (stealing), Pratissiddhacharan (doing the forbidden). *Righteous bodily activity* is Dana, Paritrana (protection), Paricharana (service).

These are obviously, the different psycho-physical methods and practices leading to self realisation.

The ancient theorists also analysed the form and content of knowledge. *Elements of knowledge* are Pramana, Pratakshya, Anumana, Upamana (comparison), Sabda. The *objects of knowledge* are soul (self), body, senses, objects of senses, intellect, mind, activity, fault, transmigration, fruits of action, suffering, final beatitude.

The method of discussion—Vada, Jalpa, Vitanda were widely followed. Vaisesika and Sankhya systems developed their respective disciplines. The Yoga system was bifurcated into Jnana Yoga, Kriya Yoga. Yoga aims at treatment of mind and brings the individual and supreme souls together. Purusha means pure consciousness, Prakriti means external reality. Mahat Buddhi is the inflow of Psych resulting in experience, reaching a decision and certainty by Buddhi. It is a two faced mirror—one face turned towards pure consciousness, the other towards objects. Ahankara is self consciousness, a product of Buddhi.

The question of *sensory and motor organism* is not left out. Manas is Mind. Manas resolves the 'booming, buzzing, confusion' into order. Perception is related to real object which is apprehended by the corresponding sense organ. The mind seizes this apprehension and reflects upon it. Ahankara (empirical ego) appropriates the determinate apprehension of mind; buddhi decides course of action, the Purusha enjoys the perception of the object.

Yoga involves chitta-britti-nirodha and leads to Abhyasa and Vairagya. Obstacles to Samadhi are Styana, Samasa, Pramada, Alasya, Avirati, Bhranti darshana etc. *Thus the pedagogic method was method of faith, method of reason.* Debate was a traditional method for which terms were evolved for scientific arguments.

And lastly it must be repeated after Dr. Keith that 'The Sankhya does not restrict, like the Vedanta, the saving knowledge to the three upper classes of Aryans to the exclusion of Sudras.'

(32) Education in Manu Samhita.

Manu is known to have been one of the greatest law-givers in ancient India. By his time the Hindu social system had been firmly settled. *The Varnashram system had been effectively installed. Manu's laws were intended to provide permanence to the system.* His laws, therefore, covered all aspects of life, viz. marriage (including selection of bride or groom, dowry), the Varnashrama and Chaturasrama systems, duties and privileges of people belonging to the different

varnas, as well as of members of a family, daily duties, sacrificial rituals etc. Education featured prominently.

In the case of education, Manu's 'Dharma Sastra' did not deal with fundamental philosophical questions. Instead, he detailed out the rules and regulations, the duties and modes of discipline in the system of education. Manu's purpose was to sanctify the social regulations as unchangeable norms.

The *injunctions of Manu* may be summed up, in brief, as the following :—

1. Veda is *Sruti*; Dharmasastra is *Smriti*. No doubts can be harboured about the truth contained in the two. Everything else (knowledge, family and social laws, rituals and practices) emanates from them. The two are not antagonistic to each other. They are rather complementary.

2. *Brahmarshi-kosha* was the land bounded by Kurukshetra, Kanyakubja and Mathura. *Madhyadesha* was the land between the Saraswati on the west and Prayag on the east. The whole area between the Himalayas and the Vindhya constituted *Aryavarta*.

Vedic ideals and practices and principles of Dharmasastras must reign supreme in *Aryavarta*.

3. *The supremacy of the Brahmins must be conceded*. Even a young Brahmin was superior to older Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. But a Brahmin without vedic knowledge was worthless. And Vedic knowledge was supreme knowledge, much superior to that of the *Arthasastra*.

4. Because of his endowed supremacy, the Brahmin must lead a regulated life congenial to the fruition of endowed grains.

(a) The child's rice eating ceremony (*Aunaprashna*) must be completed at 6 months. The *Chudakarma* might be completed between the first and third years of life. Initiation to writing and reading was dictated at—5 years for the Brahmin child, 6 years for the Kshatriya and 8 years for the Vaisya child.

(b) *The Upanayana* of the Brahmin child was to be celebrated at 7 years 3 months (after birth) (with a time limit upto 16 years). The same for the Kshatriya was ordained at 11 years (with time limit upto 22 years), for the Vaisya it might be 12 years (with limit upto 24 years).

(c) After the *Upanayana*, the Brahmin child should use the surname 'Sharma', the Kshatriya child—'Varma', Vaisya child—

'Gupta' and the Sudra who had no Upanayana should be surnamed as 'Dasa'.

(d) Failure to undergo the Upanayana process would make one a 'Vratya' and 'Sabitri-Patita'. He would be socially condemned to the extent that none would accept him as a bridegroom. Penances were prescribed for such Vratyas.

(e) *The dress for the Upanayana* was prescribed as—(i) different types of antelope skin for Uttariya of Brahmin and Kshatriya boys and goat-skin Uttariya for Vaishya boys; (ii) hemp cloth for the Brahmin child, silk-linen for the Kshatriya and goat-fur cloth for the Vaishya. (iii) Mekhala of sacred grass or hemp was prescribed for the Brahmins and others respectively. (iv) The Brahmin boy would take sacred thread of cotton, the Kshatriya would take hemp thread and the Vaishya wool thread. (v) The Brahmin boy would take a 'danda' of 'Bell' log, tall enough to reach his hair; the Kshatriya child would take a danda of 'Bet' (Banyan) so tall as to reach his forehead; the Vaishya boy's danda of 'Pilu' reached upto his nose.

5. *The daily duties* of the student in the 'gurugriha' included—daily prayers and rituals, keeping the 'fire' ablaze, collecting 'samidh' from the forest and fetching water from the stream. He must serve the Guru by all possible means. Even if one could not master the Vedas, only Yapa could bring the Brahmin's salvation. Sacrifices would do, if one failed to master the Vedas.

The genuine learner must control all his senses. His might keep only the Jnalandria (intellect) open and active. But even more important was control of the mind. The mind might be kept in control by abstinence and Niyama. Even a single uncontrolled sense-organ might create a havoc.

Begging was compulsory. Manu, however, suggested a hierarchy of persons who could be approached for alms. Some doors were absolutely prohibited. The Brahmachari, however, had to remain satisfied with the minimum of food. Honey, meat, sugar, curd etc. were prohibited.

The student could not use cosmetics, even stibium (kajal) or oil. He could not use umbrella or shoes. Practice of Ahimsa was a bounden duty. He must observe celibacy and control his passions. He must rise before dawn and go to bed after the teacher had gone.

6. In Manu's opinion, *the Acharya was superior to knowledge*. He therefore, proposed very high qualitative standards for persons fit to

be teachers. Teachers were classified, the apex being formed by the Acharya. The Upadhyaya was inferior, since he received remunerations in cash or kind. One Acharya was equal to ten Upadhyayas. And 100 Acharyas were equal to the one who performed the Upanayana and sanctified the "second birth" of the child and thereby became the god-father.

The Acharya had the right to select students and also not to teach the unsuitable ones. He might punish the wayward pupil. Manu, however, drew up laws of punishment. He favoured light modes.

A significant part of the student's daily chart of duties was concerned with service to the teacher. Manu prescribed the style in which the student should sit before the Guru. Reading and recess hours were to be determined by the Guru. The student might put questions only to clear doubts and not with the motive of cornering the teacher. He was not to argue with the teacher.

Respectfulness and modesty constituted major qualities of the pupil. Manu, however, suggested a hierarchy according to which the student should show respect. Veneration shown to parents (if they visited the school) must not surpass the same shown to the teacher. The student ought to be respectful to members of the teacher's family and household. That, however, did not mean unrestricted service to the teacher's son.

The student must observe these principles of disciplinary living and doing till the termination of studentship, which came through the Samavartana ceremony. There was nothing compulsive for the student to pay any tuition fees during studentship. But after the completion of education he might offer "Pranami" in terms of land, gold, cow or horse. He might make presents of umbrella, hide, shoes, seats, pady etc.

Much of what Manava Dharmasastra said, had been in existence. Manu proposed a firm and complete structure with rules and regulations purported to make the system stereotyped and unchangeable. Herein lies the historical importance of the educational aspects of Manava Dharmasastra.

** Two items on ancient India's achievements in (a) Medical Science and (b) Physical Sciences and Mathematics will be placed in a subsequent Chapter.

PART II

CHAPTER I

EDUCATION IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA

Before taking up our work on mediaeval education it may be advantageous to make a resume of ancient education so that we may better understand mediaeval education by contrast.

Resume of Ancient Education

(1) Nature of Indian philosophy:—Philosophy provides answers to questions on the real nature of man, nature of the world and their interrelation. Search for this knowledge of Truth led to the growth of several systems of Indian philosophy viz. Nyaya, Vaisesika, Sankhya, Yoga, Mimamsa, Vedanta, Charvak and also Jaina and Buddhist.

Indian philosophy discusses different problems of metaphysics, logic, ethics, psychology, epistemology and axiology from all possible approaches and gives a total and synoptic outlook. It is not Hindu Philosophy in the narrow sense. Madhavacharya's "Sarva Darshana Sangraha" presents the view points of even theists and materialists as well as unorthodox thinkers like the Buddha and Jaina prophets. Each school took account of others. The process of Purva Paksha—Khandana—Uttarapaksha led to Siddhanta.

The major schools accept the universe as a moral stage and believe in an eternal moral order. Sense of dissatisfaction at the sight of evils led to attempt for understanding the origin of evils and finding out the means of overcoming them. Thus, pessimism was followed by optimism and firm faith in salvation by living life in the best way, by acquiring freedom from the bondage of ignorance and by self-realisation through self control.

(2) Urge for knowledge was inherent in the concept of life and remained ever shining. "Education", as F. W. Thomas says, "is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or exercised so lasting and powerful an influence." The urge for light is best recorded in the words of Maston, "At no period of its history India has been an unenlightened country. Inscriptions or stones, copperplates, palm-leaf records of the temples, and in later days the widespread manufacture of paper, all alike

indicate not only the general knowledge but also the common use of the art of writing. From the earliest time, the caste of Brahmins preserved by oral tradition as well as by means of scripts a literature unrivalled alike in its quality and in the intellectual subtleties of its contents."

The persistent search for truth led to the growth of variegated knowledge as is recognised by Maxmuller, "Whatever sphere of the human mind you may select for your special studies, whether it be language or religion or mythology or philosophy, whether it be laws and customs, primitive arts or primitive science, anywhere you go you are to go to India whether you like it or not, because some of the most valuable and instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India and in India only".

(3) Development of this speculative mind was helped by natural environment. Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "A rich culture is impossible with a community of nomads, where people struggle for life and die of privation. Fate called India to a spot where nature was free with her gifts and every prospect was pleasing. The Himalayas with their immense ranges and elevation on one side and the sea on the other, helped to keep India free from invasions for a long time. Beautiful nature yielded abundant food and man was relieved of toil and struggle for existence."

(4) It is generally admitted that religion and spirituality determined Indian thinking and education. But, religion in Indian concept, is that which binds the universe together; the eternal, infinite, invisible principle which binds the whole universe, which is the source and fountainhead of all religions. It is a religion which binds man which man; a regulated principle which governs each sphere of life, a total configuration of ideals, practices and conduct implying duties, morality virtue etc. Religion dictated the laws and social life. The country was thus identified with culture and not confined to physical boundaries. India, thus, became a home for different races and nationalities, each with its own ethnopsychic endowment and each carrying its particular racial traditions and institutions.

(5) Vedic religion evolved from childhood to manhood and then to old age. Childhood with its emphasis upon the perceptual attended to that which affected or were associated with immediate or direct interest. This explains the deification of natural objects. During

manhood, attention was transferred from the phenomenal to the noumenal i.e. the ultimate cause or purpose. The old age was an age of speculation of Universe and nature of the Supreme Being.

(6) The development of education and literature corresponded with this evolution. From religious works, lyric poetry and hymns it traversed the long route of Law, Philosophy, Brahmana, Aranyaka, Upanishada and Sutra. About the Upanishadas, the cream of Indian thought, Schopenhauer says, "In the whole world there is no study which is so beneficial and so elevating as that of Upanishadas. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death."

The rise of Buddhism brought about a period of transition marked by Prakrit languages, various sciences and arts including medicine, astronomy and veterinary science.

The last epoch brought about another turn characterised by classical Sanskrit, various branches of sciences, arts and literature, didactic poetry, fables, fairy tales and romances. Kalidasa, Aryabhata, Varaha Mihira were luminaries of this era. Under patronage from Pataliputra, Ujjain and Kanauj there was also a phenomenal growth of architecture, sculpture, painting and music. In recognition of this many-sided achievement Madonell says, "The attainment of the Indians in some subjects like science, literature, grammar, phonetics, mathematics, astronomy, medicine and law was much ahead of the attainment of the Greeks".

(7) National vigour found expression in literature. Due to absence of artificial barriers, sacred learning in the earliest stage was no monopoly of any sect. Caste system, early marriage of girls, and seclusion of women were later developments. Even idol worship found a firm base only in the Puranic period. The essence of idol worship is nicely explained by Abul Fazl, "The Hindus one and all believe in the unity of the Godhead; and although they hold images in high veneration, yet they are by no means idolators, as the ignorant suppose. The images are only representatives of celestial beings to whom they turn themselves whilst at prayer to prevent their thoughts from wandering."

(8) With changing ideals, the pattern of education also changed. The Gurukul reflected the ancient ideal. In the absence of writing materials, there was individual infiltration of ideals. Hence, the number of students was limited. With social changes, there were characteristic educational changes viz. caste system, replacement of

reason by authority, replacement of manual skill and practical knowledge by intellectual discipline.

Education, therefore, acquired two meanings. In the wider sense it meant a process of development from infancy to maturity with necessary adoptions and adaptations at different stages. In the narrow sense it meant special influence consciously brought to bear upon the child. It was designated in 3 ways—(i) *Siksha i.e.* learning to recite ; (ii) *Adhyayana i.e.* taking near (*Upanayana*) ; and (iii) *Vinaya i.e.* leading out. It meant an action whereby the inborn faculties or traits are led out in a particular way or an action in which one leads oneself in a particular manner (*i.e.* character).

(9) In spite of institutional responsibility, the role of the mother was largely recognised. The child's education actually started with the mother. It was supposed that the child's physical, intellectual and moral endowment depended upon mother's married life. Hence, some ceremonies were observed to ensure the prospect of the child. Care started from *Garbhadhana*. *Yatakarma* and *Annaprasana* were held after birth. The mother was properly instructed. This was followed by tonsure and beginning of home education at 5 years.

The final formation of morality and character, however, depended upon the preceptor, as is evident from his *Upanayana* blessings—Thou art a *Brahmachari* ; be religious and persevering ; do not sleep by day, learn the *Veda* under the teacher ; follow thy teacher at every footstep (except where he is wrong) ; remove anger and untruth ; do not commit excesses in bathing and eating ; give up scandal, covetousness, greed, fear and sorrow ; get up early in the morning and devote thyself to meditation, do not take meat, wine or pungent things'.

The moral and social orientation in education is similarly borne out by the teacher's farewell address during *Samavartana*—"speak the truth ; practise virtue ; do not neglect duties : do not swerve from truth, virtue, welfare ; do not neglect what is good ; do not neglect study and teaching ; do not neglect thy duties to God and parents ; worship thy mother, father, teacher and guest as a God ; follow the blameless conduct ; adopt the good in conduct."

Education in Mediaeval India

India's composite culture in the ancient period had absorbed many cultural streams, external and internal. The mediaeval period witnessed the influx of another mighty stream of culture *i.e.* Islamic

culture. The post-Mourya foreign incursions had not physically affected the Madhyadesha. Moreover, the leaders of society had adopted defensive measures to safeguard the cultural entity of India. Foreign political occupations had been shortlived, and the foreigners were synthesised in India's socio-religious life.

The Turko-Afghan invasion infused a totally new element. The invaders stayed here, lived here and built up a mighty empire. With the conquerors came a new religion and a new culture-pattern. While India had been able to absorb the previous cultural infusions from Central Asia, this mighty cultural onslaught with Arabic-Islamic traditions could not be easily absorbed. Moreover, the conquerors patronised their own culture which gradually spread from the metropolitan and urban areas to the entire body politic of India.

The traditional system of education which we otherwise designated as Hindu system was now bereft of state patronage. The ancient feudal potentates and landed aristocracy had to pass a chequered life due to political upheavals and the introduction of a new pattern of Jagirdari. Their educational patronage was now decimated. The rent-free endowments so long enjoyed by institutions of learning were now often affected. Though financially thus emaciated, the Hindu system of education somehow retained its existence, because it had deep traditional roots in the soil and still catered to the needs of the traditional society. The Buddhist system, however, could not withstand the onslaught. With the destruction of the major monasteries, the centres of Buddhist learning practically went out of existence.

Mediaeval Indian education, therefore, consisted of the parallel existence of the Hindu and Islamic systems with some isolated remnants of Buddhist learning. For a long time, the Hindu and the Islamic systems maintained inimical and parallel relations. But the two systems interacted and made adoptions and adaptations from each other. In the later mediaeval period, the two religions and culture patterns came closer. An eclectic synthesis was the outcome. The history of Mediaeval Indian education consists of the story of a foreign pattern being Indianised and its becoming an integral part of a broader spectrum of Indian culture.

Destruction and Construction : an apparent contradiction

The Islamic system of education had to depend vitally upon the goodwill and whims of rulers. The mediæval rulers of India were simultaneously destroyers and constructors. *Sultan Mahmud's* career in India has been that of a ruthless destroyer and predatory raider. He destroyed schools because schools were attached to temples and temples had stored much of the wealth of India. This destroyer of Indian schools was a brilliant patron of culture and learning in his own land. The Ghaznavite Court had become a camp of a galaxy of learned men from various parts of Asia. Al Biruni, Utbi, Ansari and Firdousi received Mahmud's patronage. Ansari was a scientist, linguist, philosopher, poet and a renowned professor at Ghazni. Mahmud appointed him superintendent of literature and made him poet laureate. Utbi was a famed historian. Asadi Tusi of Khurasan was a poet and master of Firdousi. Asjudi and Farrukhi were renowned pupils of Ansari. Al Beruni's work 'Canon Masudicus' was dedicated to Mahmud's son Masud. The university of Ghazni was founded with a vast collection of curious books in various languages. And Mahmud was a great patron of the Great Firdousi, author of *Shah Namah*.

Sultan Mahmud was a staunch friend of learned men and for them he provided an annual bestowal of four lac dinars. Ferishta says—"no king had ever more learned men at his court than Sultan Mahmud."

Mahmud's son, Sultan Masud was prodigal to learned men, and induced them to come from different corners to his court. Important among these learned men were Anwar Khan Khwarizmi, a philosopher and astronomer and Abu Md Musahi. Masud built and endowed several colleges and schools in his dominions. Al Beruni speaks of rapid progress of Arabic and Persian literature, Indian Mathematics, Astronomy, Astrology, Philosophy, Medicine and Pharmacology. Masud also had Indian works translated by Mahammedan scholars.

Sultan Ibrahim who belonged to this royal house excelled in the art of writing. And Bairam Masud showed an uncommon thirst for knowledge. Sk. Nizami and Sayyed Hasan Ghaznavi were literary jewels who received the Sultan's bounteous patronage. *Mohammad Ghori*, the real conqueror of Delhi is known to have destroyed Hindu institutions at Ajmere. Yet he was generous to the literati.

Bakhtiyar Khalji, the destroyer of *Vikramasila* established schools together with mosques. The same was the case with *Feruz Tughluq* who destroyed the *Jawalamukhi* temple, but deciphered the Sanskrit manuscripts brought therefrom.

This apparent contradiction was not unnatural. The Turko-Afghans were conquerors. It was natural on their part to try a cultural conquest of the conquered territory. The Greeks had once established "bits of Hellas" wherever the Greek armies had set foot. The Romans had Romanised their empire. The Turks had attempted Turkification just as Czarist Russia had attempted Russification of the conquered dominions. Comparable with these was the concept of 'white man's burden' in the recent times. Was not Britain's attempt at Anglicisation and Christianisation a major element in India's history of education in the 19th Century? In the case of the Turko-Afghans, the conquerors were Muslims and the conquered were Hindus who were naturally held as Kafirs, possessing a hostile culture and religion. The conquerors wanted to destroy the institutions of the conquered and to superimpose their own institutions. The question of religion which mingled up in the process was a matter of coincidence. As for the methods of subjugation, we should apply the mediaeval standard of judgment in pronouncing our verdict in comparison with similar affairs throughout the world.

The conquerors were inimical to a foreign culture and cult. But they were believers in a faith, their own faith, which attached great value to education. In the Holy Koran education is urged as a duty.

The Prophet had said that acquisition of knowledge in the way of the Lord was an act of piety. In his opinion, knowledge is guide and friend and it enables differentiation between man and man. Study of the Koran and the Hadith leads one to the Truth. The study of various subjects was enjoined as a religious duty. The Prophet called upon the faithful to appreciate the importance of ink, pen and paper.

The faith in the acquisition of knowledge was embodied in the lustre of Arabic learning. At the zenith of their cultural achievements, the Arabs had established mastery in the fields of Astronomy, Navigational Sciences, Astrology, Mathematics (particularly Algebra), Medicine (*Hekimi*), arts and architecture etc. Moreover, Arabian culture had developed a dynamism of its own. With the expansion of

Muslim political power from country to country, the centre of culture moved from Baghdad to Damascus, then to Cairo and Cordova. On the other front it moved to Bukhara, Samarkhand and Constantinople. The glory of Saracen culture had affected Europe during the 'Crusades'. With military conquests made in Central Asia, the Turko Persian culture also spread out in Central Asia and Tatar regions. From there it entered into India.

In the course of its long journey to India from Arabia via Turkey and Central Asia much of the brilliance of Arabian culture was lost.

Partial impact of
Turko-Arab
tradition

Evidently, the Islamic culture which was brought to India by the invaders was not the pure and unadulterated Arabian culture at its best. Yet, the effect of that culture even though indirectly received

in India was tremendous. The learned were esteemed by the Muslim rulers of India. Honour and patronage was bestowed upon them. Judges, lawyers and ministers were selected from amongst them. There was a constant flow of talent from Central Asia and Turko-Arab regions to India. Believers as they were, the Sultans patronised Islamic learning and some of them were inimical to the institutions of the vanquished. This explains the apparent contradiction that they were destroyers and constructors simultaneously.

The mediaeval Sultanate was a sort of military despotism in which political set up the sovereign was the sourcefount of policy. Learning flourished under a sovereign who was a lover of learning. It declined in disarray under a monarch who did not or would not patronise learning. That is why, Islamic education in India passed through ups and downs in accordance with political upheavals and the personality of monarchs.

Dependence
upon royal
patronage

In the early years, Turko-Afghan power centred round the garrisons. The rulers had little contact with the ruled. Hence, Islamic education in India in the first instance, did not acquire a mass character. Gradually, however, the barrier was broken and education spread downwards to the masses. Moreover, patronage to education flowed from the court. The Amirs and other sections of the aristocracy followed in the wake of the monarch. The education that was patronised by these classes was, by its nature, higher Islamic learning. The masses of people had to look after themselves. They

Two phases of Sul-
tunate and Educa-
tion at two levels

developed their own system of elementary education which was greatly influenced by the traditional Hindu system of mass education. Thus, Islamic education also was catered at two levels. Fortunately, however, most of the famous Sultans and Badshahs of India were patrons of learning.

Contributions of the Sultans

Md. Ghori, the founder of the Delhi Sultanate is known to have established mosques and schools in Kabul and in India. He was generous to the literati. One of his special interests was education of his slaves, of whom his successor Qutbuddin was one. They were given both literary and vocational education. As a ruthless conqueror, he, as Hasan Nizami says, "destroyed...idol temples and built in their stead mosques and colleges." *Sultan Qutbuddin* was educated at Nishapur and had a good command of Arabic and Persian, and showed interest in the sciences. By giving shelter to

The first century
under early
sultans

Fakhr-ul-mulk of Baghdad he initiated a tradition of providing royal patronage to men of learning, which most of the subsequent sultans sustained with zeal.

He is known to have built mosques and schools although he destroyed temples. As founder of Quth Minar he also promoted art and architecture. General Bakhtiyar Khalji, Commander of his army, attacked and destroyed Vikramasila and caused great damage to Nadia, no doubt was a promoter of Islamic learning for which he built colleges. *Sultan Iltutmish* is known to have built Madrasahs. During his reign Delhi became a refuge for learned men from Central Asia wherefrom many of them had to flee on account of political turbulence. Amir Kuhani and Nasiruddin (author of a popular collection of historical anecdotes) were among them. He also glorified his dominions by appointing Fakhr-ul-mulk (who had been Wazir at Baghdad) his Prime Minister. Feruz Tughluq's records refer to a big college established by Iltutmish, which the former repaired and beautified with sandal wood doors. Iltutmish's daughter *Sultana Rasiya*, as Ferishta says, was herself well read. She was a patron of learning and is known to have established a college at Delhi, known as *Mulzzi College*. The peace loving *Nasiruddin Mahmud* the last of this line of sovereigns spent his time in reading and copying the Koran and other theological works. A meticulous copyist of the Koran, this

sultan helped the growth of an excellent calligraphy. Moreover, he was a patron of learning and founded a college at Jallundher.

Ghiasuddin Balban was a man of literary taste. He organised a royal library and patronised regular meetings of poets. His court had a circle of learned men under Amir Khasru. Literature and sciences were cultured. The Sultan's son, Prince Mohammad prepared a collection of 2000 poems. His entourage included musicians, dancers and actors. Sultan Balban had ordered that best attention was to be paid to the wise, the elite and the brave because they were advisers to the crown and formed the apex of royal glory. Delhi, during Balban, became equivalent to Bukhara.

Apart from Prince Muhammad's circle, Prince Kurra Khan Beghra's society composed of musicians, dancers, actors and story tellers enlivened the atmosphere of the capital. Apart from Amir Khasru who was the presiding genius of the time, poet Amir Hasan also electrified the literary atmosphere. Eminent learned men of his court also included Sk Bahauddin, Sk Badruddin Arif of Ghazni. Sayyid Maula who founded an academy in Delhi.

When he returned to his capital after three years absence in a military expedition, he visited the learned men at their own houses. Twice he sent messengers to Siraj to invite Sk Sadi to India. He is known to have advised his successors, "spare no pains to discover men of genius, learning and courage. You must cherish them by kindness and munificence that they may prove the soul of your councils and instruments of your authority." After Balban there was sharp decline in literary and cultural activities till the Khaljis retrieved the position.

Jalaluddin Khalji was similarly a man of literary taste. He organised a royal library and held regular meeting of poets. Amir

Khasru was the librarian of this imperial library. He
The Khaljis

was also appointed the keeper of the Koran. Jalaluddin held private parties with men like Khasru, Tajuddin Iraqi, Khwajah Hasan, singers Hamid Rajah and Muhammad Chungi, instrumentalist Nasir Khan etc.

Alauddin Khalji who is known as a conqueror and despot was no mean a patron of learning as Firishta states. The court, as Elphinstone says, was a refuge for learned men. There is, however, an interesting controversy on the question of Alauddin's own learning. Ziauddin Barni says he had no acquaintance with learning. Another opinion holds that although he was unlettered in his early days,

he acquired reading and writing abilities in older days. On the whole, however, he liked books to be read before him. Dissatisfied with this practice he had learned men answer to questions put to them by him.

Whatever the extent and quality of his learning, Alauddin was a patron of learned men. Recipients of his pensions included Amir Khasru, Amir Hasan, Sadruddin Ali, Maulana Arif, Hamiduddin Rajah etc. and several historians and compilers. Qazi Maulana Kuhrami and Hazi Maghisuddin were favourites of the Sultan. Two other philosophers Sayyid Tajuddin and Sayyid Rukhnuddin also received his patronage as did Nizamuddin Auliya, the saint. Evidently, theology and philosophy were studied extensively. Firishta says about Alauddin's time, "Palaces, mosques, universities, baths, menzolia, forts and all kinds of private and public buildings seemed to rise as if by magic. Neither did there in any age appear such a concourse of learned men from all parts." 45 Doctors skilled in the sciences were professors in the Universities in and around Delhi. Ziauddin Barni says, "Delhi was the great rendezvous for all the most learned and erudite personages". An inscription on the southern doorway of Alai Darwaza (at Delhi) designates Alauddin as "strengtheners of the pulpits of learning, strengthener of the rules of colleges..." Alauddin had also grand designs in architecture. The ruins of his colleges and a projected monument still exist in Delhi.

Nobles followed the Sultan's example of patronage. The total effect was tremendous. It is claimed that the erudition of learned men at Delhi surpassed that of the learned men of Bukhara, Samarqand, Baghdad, Cairo, Damascus, Ispahan etc. History, Jurisprudence, Logic, Theology, Grammar, Commentaries and also Hindu mythological stories were studied with equal seriousness. The study of medicine was fostered by Moulana Badruddin Damasqi, Moulana Sadruddin and Moulana Alimuddin. Barni also mentions of astrologers, minstrels and musicians.

It is to be noted that the Turko-Afghan empire in India was already 100 years old. A stage of racial and linguistic mingling now set in. The subsequent period of the Tughluqs furthered the cause of the growth of a composite culture.

The unfortunate and much maligned monarch *Md. Bin Tughluq* was personally a man of poetic talent and an erudite scholar well versed in many subjects viz. medical science, logic, astronomy,

mathematics. He knew the Koran and Hidayah by heart. He was an expert debater, calligraphist and a great innovator too. But his failure in political administration caused his failure in other fields also. His decision to transfer the capital to Deogiri caused a desertion of Delhi. Although he retraced his steps, the brilliance of Delhi as the cultural capital of the Sultani Empire was never regained.

Feroz Shah Tughluq

A secular concept of monarchy and statecraft had been gaining ground from the days of Alauddin Khalji which was augmented by Md. Bin Tughluq who never submitted himself to the domination of mollahs. A theocratic reaction had set in during the last days of Md. Tughluq. The unfortunate failure of that Sultan in his experiments and novelties and the agonies they caused to the peoples and nobles as well as towns and villages enabled the nobility and the Moulvis to dictate terms to Muhammad's successor Feruz Shah Tughluq. In fact, Md. Tughluq died amidst rebellions in different corners of the empire.

Feruz Tughluq had to fight on two fronts. On the one hand he employed his energy in the suppression of rebellions, and on the other hand he adopted and implemented a policy of pacification. The position of the religious leaders became stronger. Obviously, Feroz's policy of appeasement seemed sometimes to have been communally biased.

Feroz Shah Tughluq hastened to make good the loss. It is on record that he spent thirtysix lakh rupees in the form of pensions to rehabilitate the men of learning who had suffered strains during his predecessor's rule. A royal decree was issued for the repair of schools and thirty new high schools were built. He repaired a school building which had been founded by Iluttmish.

As a man Feroz had a human attitude. He was warm hearted and less whimsical. He had a satisfactory literary education and authored the *Fatuhati Feroz Shahi*. He, however, had no love's labour for the decadent Delhi. He built up Ferozabad as a substitute and made it a cultural centre. Other educational centres were also built, one of which was Jaunpur.

Feroz Shah had a high regard for men of learning. He is said to have built 3 Palaces known as (1) Palace of Grapes, (2) Palace of

wooden gallery and (3) Palace of Public court. In the Palace of Grapes he held learned assemblies and gave audience to men of letters. He was particularly fond of historians. Ziauddin Barani and Siraj Afif were men of his court. Bountiful and liberal as he was, Feroz patronized and granted pensions to learned men of the time. He initiated excellent regulations to encourage learning and endowed land for the maintenance of colleges. Learned men were encouraged to work in different parts of his dominions. Jalaluddin Rumi adorned this period as a teacher and poet.

Among Feroz's development works was the construction of schools. Ferishta and Sujan Rai Khatri list out 30 such schools, while Abdul Baqi enlists 50 and Fakir Mahammad speaks of 40. For each of these colleges the monarch granted land for maintenance. Feroz himself says, 'I built many mosques, colleges and monasteries that the learned and the elders, the devout and the holy might worship god in these edifices.'

Although characterised by some historians as a bigot, Feroz Tughluq showed great interest in all sorts of learning. The Sultan destroyed the Jawalamukhi temple at Nagarkot, yet he had ordered pandits to decipher 1300 manuscripts seized therefrom. By the application of great engineering skill he had 2 monolithic Asokan pillars brought from Topra in Ambala and from Meerut, and these were re-erected at Delhi. He is known to have appointed pundits for deciphering and explaining the Asokan script thereon. One Pillar is still there at Feroz Shah Kotlah. In spite of the so called bigotry of the Sultan, it is to be noted that during this period Hindus began to culture Persian in right earnest, just as Muslim scholars began to culture Sanskrit literature.

Feroz's building and constructive activities led to the discovery of fossils in the Sivaliks. His love of ingenuity found expression in the construction of Tasi Ghoryal i.e. water clock.

Slavery, however, reached a high point in this period. The Sultan owned as many as 18000 slaves. This was symbolic of an extreme form of feudal society and degraded feudal values. Yet, it must be said in Feroz's favour that he educated his slaves in the art of reading, memorising the Koran and copying books. He also provided vocational training in mechanical arts and placed as many as 12000 slaves in apprenticeship.

Feroz Tughluq had to embark upon a few military expeditions to

suppress rebellions. His failure in this respect is on record particularly in Western India, in the Deccan and in Bengal. With the exception of these expeditions, particularly in the early part of his reign, he did not embark upon expansion of Empire by new conquests. His reign on the whole was a period of peace. This peace, however, was not unproductive. The energy of the monarch and the machinery of the state was employed in welfare, educational and cultural activities. Emperor Asoka's Dharma Vijoy had glorified India. Sultan Feroz Tughluq's patronage to learning glorified his age and created a heritage for future generations. It is not improper to say, "If peace hath her victories no less than war, Feroz Tughluq stands in the fore fronts of the Mahammedan rulers of India, anticipating in many ways the crowning work of Akbar."

Although the predatory raid and destruction caused by Tamer Lane destroyed much of the educational edifice built by the Delhi Sultanate, the tradition was not wholly lost. Even in the phase of decline, Badaun acquired fame as a centre of learning under the patronage of the *Sayees*, particularly Sayeed Alaaddin and supplemented the work of Delhi and Ferozabad. The last attempt at continuation of tradition was made by *Sikandar Lodi* who was himself a poet and composed 8000 couplets. He rewarded men of letters and built colleges. He wanted all his employees to be lettered. His capital city of Agra built by Bahlul Lodi became the centre of gravity and received learned men from all parts of India and abroad. The Sultan attended meetings of the elite. Urdu was now firmly established as a common language for Turks, Persians, Afghans and Indian Hindus. Hindus now attended Muslim Madrasahs and acquired mastery of Persian. Translations of various types of books were extensively patronised. A positive intercourse between Islamic and Hindu cultures and education became a practice of the day.

Role of the Regional Kingdoms

If Delhi had patronised learning, could the provincial rulers lag behind? In fact, the provincial rulers were no less patrons.

When the Delhi Empire declined and regional kingdoms reared their heads, these lesser sultans helped the cause of education as best as they could.

Gulbarga, Bidar, Ellichpur, Daulatabad, Jaunpur and other places acquired fame as centres of learning.

Patronage of Provincial rulers and nobility

Bahmani kingdom : *Sultan Hasan Gangu*, founder of the Bahmani kingdom was skilled in Persian. He had his sons educated. The courses of study included Theology, Rhetoric and Euclid. Bahmani Sultan *Hassan Muhammad Shah* was a poet, proficient in Arabic and Persian. He was also a great patron of learning. He founded a big Madrasah for orphans and also other schools in Gulbargah, Bidar, Ellichpur, Daulatabad, Dabul etc. The people gave him the title of Aristotle. The same was the case with *Firuz Shah Bahmani* who is said to have been more erudite than Md. Bin Tughluq. Well versed in many languages he could easily converse in Rajasthani, Telegu, Marathi, Bengali, Hebrew etc. He was also well-acquainted with the sciences, particularly natural philosophy. He heard lectures on Botany, Geometry, Logic and Astronomy. He constructed an observatory near Daulatabad. Keeping company of poets, reciters of history and readers of Shah Namah was a hobby with him. He was of opinion that kings should draw around them the most learned men who might help them with advice and example. It is said that every year he sent out ships from the ports of Goa and Chaul to invite and import from abroad celebrated men of learning to his court.

Sultan Ahmed Shah followed in the footsteps of Firuz Shah and built a magnificent college near Gulbargah. *Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani II* is said to have been second only to Feroz Shah in learning. The Bahmani library at Ahmadnagar was a testimony to the achievements of the period.

The Bahmani tradition continued in the five smaller sultanates which arose out of the ashes of the Bahmani Dominions. *Bijapur* could be proud even of the remnants of an old college endowed by the Chalukyas of Kalyan and the Yadavas of Deogiri. *Sultan Adil Shah* of Bijapur used to write prose and verse. He had a taste for music and was an instrumentalist himself. He invited Ulamahs from Persia, Turkistan and Rum. *Ismail Adil Shah, Ibrahim Adil Shah and also Yusuf Adil Shah* were great patrons of learning. From the days of these latter sultans, the public accounts were kept in Hindi, and Brahmins were appointed to important positions in the revenue and accounts departments. The Adil Shahi library at Bijapur was a glory of the time.

Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and Sultan Nasir Khan of Khandesh kept up the tradition of education, the latter having established a famous Madrasah at Daulatabad.

Golconda did not lag behind. *Md. Quli Qutb Shah* was a great patron of learning. The *Chahar Minar* at Hyderabad housed a college with apartments for professors and students. He established other colleges and seminaries. Many primary schools were conducted in the houses of teachers.

Noblemen of the imperial and provincial courts emulated the examples of the sovereigns. *Mahmud Gawan*, minister of *Muhammad Shah* of *Bidar* excelled in this respect. He was very learned and skilled in prose and verse writing, and in Mathematics. Very few learned men of his time were left out of his scheme of financial help or pension. He introduced an attempt to educate orphans. Even today there are many remains of his work, particularly his college at *Bidar*. The college had an attached library with 3600 volumes. It is said that *Mahmud Gawan* had a collection of 35000 books in his own house.

To the north of the Deccan, *Malwa* under *Sultan Md. Khilji* became a great resort of literary men from various countries. *Firishta* says that *Malwa* could stand a fair comparison with *Shiraj* and *Samarqond*. There was a big college at *Mandu*. *Sultan Ghayasuddin* provided for education in the harem under school mistresses. Mention must also be made of *Baz Bahadur*, a contemporary of *Akbar*.

In further north, *Sindh*, *Gujrat*, *Kashmir* and *Multan* contributed as best as they could to the educational tradition. *Hussain Langa* of *Multan* and *Zainul Abedin* of *Kashmir* were unhesitating patrons of learning.

In eastern India, *Jaunpur* shone in lustre. *Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi* was a famous patron of learning. Close associates of the sultan were *Qazi Sahabuddin Daulatabadi*, *Maulana Sk. Iladad Jaunpuri*, *Hasan Naqsi*, *Ali Ahmed Nisani* etc. In fact, the foundation of *Jaunpur's* greatness was laid by emperor *Feroz Tughluq*. It is said that, "During *Ibrahim Shah's* reign the court of *Jaunpur* far outshone that of *Delhi*, and was the resort of all learned men of the East." *Bibi Raji's* college at *Namazgah* was a big institution. To this university city students came from different parts of India, particularly *Oudh* and *Allahabad*. There were innumerable madrasahs maintained by the Grant of *Jagirs*. Most of the colleges of *Jaunpur* were, however, destroyed by *Sultan Sikandar Lodi* after his conquest of *Jaunpur*.

The glory was partially regained during the reigns of *Mughal*

Emperors Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. Imperial officers sent educational reports to the emperors on the basis of which Grants were made. Princes and Amirs paid visits to Jaunpur and made donations. The confiscation of Jagirs led to the decline of Jaunpur which was once called Shiraj-i-hind. Yet, there were 20 famous schools at Jaunpur even in early 18th century.

Last comes the question of Bengal. *Sultan Ghiyasuddin* established a college at Lucknauli. *Raja Ganes* provided pensions for learned men. *Sultan Nasir Shah* was a patron of Bengali literature.

Poet Vidyapati had a great patron in Sultan Nasir Shah. The name of Nasir Shah, Ghiyasuddin II, Yusuf Shah, Hussain Shah have been written in indelible ink in the cultural history of Bengal. The *Ilyas Shahi* and *Hussain Shahi Sultans* of Bengal laid the foundation of the Bengali culture with its composite nature. Hussain Shah, patron of Maladhar Basu of Bhagavat Purana fame founded a college in memory of Qutbul Alam. The Sagar Dighi Madrasah at Gour also stood to his credit. There were many more schools in his dominions and unconventional domestic teaching was extensive. An inscription of this sultan reads, "search after knowledge and if it were in China."

The nobles did not lag behind in their encouragement to letters. Inspired nobles like *Paragal Khan* and *Chhoti Khan* served the cause of Bengali language and literature by patronising literary personnel.

This tradition continued till the middle of the 18th century. Nowabs Murshid Quli, Alivardi, Mir Kasim helped the cause of education as best as they could. Nobles of the time, like Asadullah, Zaminder of Birbhum, also extended all possible help to educational enterprises.

The total effect of these varied efforts was mighty. Apart from the older centres of learning at Delhi, Ferozabad and Agra, new centres now developed at Bijapur, Golconda, Bidar, Malwa, Khandesh,

Jaunpur, Badaun, Sahali (near Lucknow), Allahabad, Ajmere, Multan, Ahmedabad, Patna, Khairabad and Gour. Madrasahs and Maktabs were innumerable.

Higher learning in India was not inferior to that at Bokhara, Samarkhand, Baghdad, Cairo or Damascus. The status and reputation of the centres, however, varied from one another. Jaunpur, which rose to fame under the patronage of *Ibrahim Sharqi* was known as Shiraz of India. *Sher Shah* studied here and attained considerable mastery of Arabic, History and Philosophy. He was fond of poetry.

particularly the poems of Sadi. There were recognised grades of teachers. Different centres offered specialisation in different branches of learning. Panjab, for example, was famous for studies in Astronomy and Mathematics, Delhi for Islamic traditions, Rampur for Logic and Medicine, and Lucknow for Theology.

Whatever the excellence of higher learning, it was confined to the minority. The royalty and the nobility patronised education of the upper classes. It was higher education catered through the Madrasahs.

Some of them acquired university status. Moreover, higher education had close connection with theological dogma. It was education for the Ulama. The masses did not gain much from this system. They had to provide for themselves. Private enterprise flourished in the field of elementary education. The *Maktav* was the school of the people. True to the dictates of Hadith, the faithful Muslims were guided by the principle of Zakat. The village *Maktab* owed its existence to such popular benefaction. The richer villagers considered themselves gratified if they could provide for board and lodging of scholars, both teachers and students.

There was also an unconventional domestic system of education. Richer people employed *Ustads* for indoor tuition in arts and music. Training in craftsmanship was occupational in nature and was conducted in the family unit.

Noteworthy Features

A few things in relation to mediaeval education ought to be particularly remembered.

1. Education in the Turko-Afghan era had started with a strong theological flavour. But gradually a secular trend became evident. The State was not theocratic as is sometimes construed. Alauddin Khalji's military despotism had affected Hindus and Muslims alike. Freedom of the State from Mollah influences developed thereafter with the exception of the reign of a few monarchs like Feroz Tughluq. This trend helped the survival and reassertion of Hindu learning.

2. As against Sultani patronage to Islamic learning, the Hindu monarchs of mediaeval India developed a new enthusiasm to patronise Hindu learning. The kings of Vejoynagar and the Rajput Princes showed particular keenness in this respect. Local centres continued

to exist, and in some cases flourished with vigour as was the case with Mithila and subsequently Nadia.

3. The decline of the Delhi Sultanate from the 14th to the early 16th century led to the growth of regional kingdoms. The local princes had to rally local support to hold against the onslaught of Delhi. They had therefore to foster local interest and local unity. Provincial culture patterns got fast integrated. For our 'Gujarati Culture', 'Marathi Culture', 'Bengali Culture' or the like, we owe a great debt to this mediaeval period of history.

4. While the regional languages and cultural patterns got fast demarcated from one another, the mediaeval period also offered some bonds of linguistic unity. The vernaculars became local languages for Hindus and Muslims alike. Parallel with it was the establishment of Urdu and Persian as all India languages for both the communities. Arabic was the language for theological instruction. Obviously it was used more in the institutions of higher learning. But Persian was mostly used in administration. Hence non-Muslims began to master this language. Muslims on the other hand found cultural interest in the study of Sanskrit. Most remarkable, however, was the development of Urdu. The origin of this 'Farsi' language (camp language) was utilitarian in as much as it was eclectic in form and content, combining Arabic, Persian and Hindi in script, grammar and terminology to facilitate communication between peoples of different racial origins but belonging to a single military organisation. Yet, very fast it acquired a literary malleability. Some of the local Muslim princes particularly patronised Urdu as a matter of principle.

5. As in the case of Hindu education, Islamic education in India was structured in accordance with socio-economic classification. Education patronised by the court and nobility was higher education entered for the few through the Madrasah. Education of the masses was sustained by themselves through the Maktab.

6. Lastly we must refer to the movement for cultural synthesis in the later mediaeval phase. For more than the first hundred years of their rule, the Turko-Afghan Sultans had considered themselves simply as alien conquerors and rulers. Their cultural and spiritual tie with Central Asia was unsevered. Their link with the life of the Indian masses was insignificant. Court-patronised culture could not be the culture of the subjects. But gradually the link with

Central Asia was severed. Generations of rulers born thereafter in India considered themselves as Indians. Obviously, Islamic culture began to be merged with Hindu culture. The two culture-patterns came closer, interrelated and led to cultural synthesis. This trend began to grow particularly from the Lodi era. Sher Shah gave it an impetus and the climax was attained during Akbar. This synthetic movement led to the preachings of Nanak and Kabir and the unprecedented growth of Sufism and Vaishnavism. The synthetic cultural trend was most potent in Bengal where the Ilyas Shahi and Hussain Shahi dynasties directly or indirectly fostered the cause of interdependence. The like happened in Gujrat, Malwa, Jaunpur and Kashmir. A favourable soil was thus prepared for Akbar's eclecticism.

Contributions of the Great Mughals

Erskine says a lot in praise of *Jahiruddin Babur*, the founder of the Mughul dynasty in India and an accomplished scholar in Arabic, Persian and Turki. He was also expert in literary criticism. A poet from early years, he was the author of a collection of Turki poems many of which were incorporated in his famous "Memoirs". Abul Fazl also mentions of his Persian composition. Mirza Md. Haider says Babur invented a style of verse called "Mubaiyan". The works of Khawaja Ahrar were transcribed by him into poetic form. Babur was also a fastidious critic. He composed a book on Prosody entitled 'Mufassal' and authored some other small books as also a treatise on Jurisprudence. He had skill in music on which he wrote a treatise in 1504 A.D. Babur initiated a form of a hand-writing—'the Baburi hand' and wrote a copy of the Koran in that script. He later sent it to Mecca. Fond of books as he was, Babur imprisoned Ghazi Khan of Panjab on a charge of treachery and took possession of Ghazi Khan's library, but expressed dissatisfaction with the standard of books. He was also a lover of paintings and had brought with him to India the best collections from his ancestral (Timuride) library. He embellished his 'Memoirs' with multicoloured paintings.

Lane Poole says that prior to 5 years of age Babur received education within the family; from 5 to 11 years of his age, Babur was educated at Samarkhand and made remarkable attainments in languages. It is known that Sk. Mazid was his Tutor. In his mature days he frequently held parties with poets. A man of jovial tempera-

ment, he personally recited extempore verses in Turkish and Persian. The literary men who came in contact with him received handsome rewards and encouragement. Many of them stayed on at the royal court. In fact, his court was adorned by Sks Zain Khwafi, Khurdmir, Maulana Sahabuddin and Mirza Ibrahim (of Herat), the latter having accompanied Babur in his campaigns and also Humayun to Gujrat. He was the author of 'Qanun-i-Humayun'. Babur had an astronomical table prepared for him. Most interesting, however, is that Babur's 'Shuhrat-i-am' (Public Works Department) was entrusted with the duty of publishing a Gazette and building schools and colleges. That education received the attention of the Govt. appears true from the fact that looking after educational institution was included as an item of duty of a State department.

Babur's son and successor *Humayun* followed up the tradition of his father. He had his maktav ceremony at 4 years 4 months 4 days of age and placed under tutors. He loved the study of Astronomy and Geography, wrote a dissertation on the nature of elements and constructed for his own use terrestrial and celestial globes. He was fond of the company of learned men and poets, and used to discuss literary subjects with them. Fond of poetry, as he was, he himself composed verses. Abul Fazl in 'Akbar Namah' says that he combined the energy of Alexander and the learning of Aristotle.

Humayun was fond of magnificence. It is said in Humayun Namah that he classified the people of worth into three major categories—

(i) The holy men, the literati, the law officers and scientists formed one category known as Ahli-Saadat. Association with such men was supposed to bring eternal prosperity. (ii) The relations of the monarch, the nobles, the ministers and military personnel formed another category known as Ahli-Daulat (eternal prosperity) (wealth) because no wealth could be attained without them. (iii) The third category was formed of musicians and artists, known as Ahli-Murad i.e. people of pleasure. The Baushah divided the days of the week for meetings with these categories. Saturday (the day of Saturn) and Thursday (the day of Jupiter) were allotted to Ahli-Saadat because those planets are supposed to be protectors and preservers respectively. Sunday (the day of the Sun) and Tuesday (day of Mars) were fixed for Ahli-Daulat, because they determined the fate of rulers and patronised warriors.

respectively. Monday and Wednesday were set apart for Abul-Murad because on these days of the Moon and the Mercury respectively the king might enjoy the pleasure of delightful music. On Friday, the Jamiat day, the Emperor met all the classes together.

Firishta says that Humayun built seven halls of audience named after the planets where he received distinctive classes of persons one day in a week by turns. The hall dedicated to the Moon was used for the reception of travellers, ambassadors etc. The Civil officers were given audience in the Mercury hall. The learned men were received in the Saturn and Jupiter halls.

Humayun designated the value of different grades of persons by twelve arrows, the lowest being made of base material and the highest (the 12th arrow) being made of pure gold. In the hierarchy of valuation, the 12th arrow stood for the king, the 11th for the king's relations and the 10th for the learned and the religious. Each arrow again was standardised in 3 grades—the highest, the middle and the lowest. It is evident that Emperor Humayun held learned men in very high esteem. His learned associates included Mir Abdul Latif, Khundamir, Jauhar (author of the private Memoirs of Humayun).

Humayun was fond of books. Even during military expeditions he carried a selective library with him. He had a history of Tamerlane in his possession. Baz Bahadur was his librarian. He transformed the Sher Mandal which had been built by Sher Shah as a pleasure house into a library where he is known to have met with his death. This building still stands near Sher Shah's mosque in Delhi's Purānā Qillah.

Humayun had been defeated and dethroned by Sher Shah and forced to live a life of exile in Persia, although he regained the throne subsequently. Had not the Emperor's career been chequered, mediaeval India might have more benefited from his educational munificence. In contrast to his educational inclination, his permanent contributions were insignificant. Yet he founded a Madrasah at Delhi where Sh. Hussain was a professor. Private citizens also did a lot. Sheikh Zainuddin Khafi built a college at Chunar. A school was also built on the Jumna, opposite Agra. Subsequently Humayun's tomb also housed a Madrasah, evidence of which may be viewed in Delhi even to day.

Sher Shah's short lived rule was an interregnum in the dynastic rule of the Mughuls. Yet his educational contributions were not

contrary to the spirit of the Mughul times. He rather paved the way for the greatness of Akbar. Personally, Sher Shah
 Sher Shah was well-educated at Jaunpur. He was fond of Philosophy, History, Biography and Poetry. He could reproduce Sadi, Sikandar Namah, Gulistan and Bastan from memory. He learnt Arabic and studied grammatical works. He used to visit colleges and associate with learned men, and also built a Madrasah at Narnaul.

Contributions of Akbar

Placing reliance upon Goanese authority Ncer says that Akbar, son and successor of Humayun, was illiterate. Tuzak-i-Jahangiri also mentions him as 'illiterate and entirely uneducated'. With some moderation Waqiat-i-Janangiri says that he was 'not profoundly learned' although he understood the elegance of
 Controversy about Akbar's literacy poetry and the essence of highly theoretical topics. But Abul Fazl says that Akbar had his initiation at 4 years and was placed under Maulana Azamuddin.

His next tutor was Bayazid. Lessons in military sciences were given by Munim Khan. Akbar was also coached by Pir Muhammad and Hazi Muhammad and Abdul Latif. Still others hold that Akbar was well read in History and could recite Hafiz. He caused a translation of 300 fables (with illustrations) of Mir Hamzah. He also communicated intimately with philosophers, sufis and historians.

In spite of the controversy about Akbar's acquaintance with letters, this is on record that he had regularly-paid 'readers' who read to him many works about a dozen of which were repeatedly read, particularly a few on history and science. At Fathpur Sikri he

Eclecticism built the Ibadatkhana with four halls,—the Western hall for Sayyids, the Southern hall for Ulama, the northern for Sheikhs and the eastern for noblemen and others. Here he held learned conferences on Fridays, Sundays and holy nights. Philosophers, Sufis, Historians, Masters of Science, as well as of ancient and modern history took part in these discussions on both spiritual and temporal subjects. The participants were amply rewarded with Ashrafi. The subjects of discussion included the sciences, history and theology. Akbar's eclectic attitude enabled Christians, Jews, Sufis, Jains, Buddhists, Ulama and Pundits to expound their philosophies and theological doctrines. 'Padri' Rudolph of Goa was one of the Christian fathers to take part in discussions and was highly respected.

The emperor asked Murad to learn a few lessons from the Bible and asked Abul Fazl to translate relevant portions of that scripture.

Communal and racial toleration was a basic principle of Akbar's statecraft. His political policy of an integrated empire led not only to his famous matrimonial policy or religious policy, but also to a policy of literary and cultural intercourse. *He had many books in Sanskrit or other languages translated into Persian or Hindi.* He ordered a translation of the *Mahabharata* in 1582 A. D. with commentaries. He explained his design to Naqib Khan and asked Abdul Qadir (author of *Tarikh-i-Badauni*) to help Naqib. Different parts were done by different men, and the collection with illustrations was named *Razm Namah*. Abdul Qadir completed (1589) the *Ramayana* in 4 years. Hazi Ibrahim Serhindi did the *Atharva Veda* into Persian and Faizi did *Lilabati*. Mukammal Khan Gujrati completed the 'Tarak' (astronomy), and History of Kashmir was written in Sanskrit by Shah Md. Sahabadi. Similarly *Harivamsa* was rendered into Persian; 'Majmaul Buldan' (Geography) was done from Arabic to Persian by several scholars; the *Panchatantra* in Persian was named 'Kalila Damnah'. A Persian version of *Nal-Damayanti* was prepared after Layala-Maznu model. Shah Namah and other verses were done into prose. Ulugh Khan's astronomical tables as also the works of Hindu astronomers were translated. Abul Fazl translated some portions of the Gospel. Babur's memoirs were translated from Turkish to Persian by Abdul Rahim Khan Khanan. *Tarikh i-Affi* (1000 years history) was compiled. In fact, the Waqinavis was active in maintaining daily record of progress in these varied literary fields.

In was natural for Akbar, a lover of books, to organise a *grand library*. Some of his collections were kept in the Harem and others in outer apartments. The emperor acquired the library of Itimad Khan Gujrati. Faizi left a library of 4.600 volumes which also vested in the emperor. Books were generally classified as Sciences and Histories and then further classified as (i) Poetry, medicine, astrology, music; (ii) Philology, Philosophy, Astronomy, Geometry, Sufism; (iii) Commentaries, traditions, theology, law. Visitors to Agra Fort may still see the room where a library had been located

Painting was elaborately used in books. 'Qissah-Hamzah' only had 1,400 paintings. All books like Changhiz Namah, Zaffar Namah,

Iqbal Namah, Razm Namah, Ramayana, Nal-Damayanti Kalila Damnah etc. were illustrated. Moreover, Akbar maintained a gallery of paintings for which he collected articles and held weekly evaluation. Remarkable painters of the time were Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrizi, Khawaja Samad, Mukund, Jagan and a dozen other Hindu and Muslim artists. In fact, Hindu painters outnumbered Muslim painters. Principal courtiers also had their portraits painted. There was no communal discrimination in patronage. Akbar also encouraged *Penmanship*. There were a dozen penmen at his court. The momentum of royal patronage made *Calligraphy* a part of the fine arts. During Akbar, more than half a dozen calligraphic models were current.

Akbar, a lover of the fine arts, could not but be a *patron of music*. He maintained numerous court musicians—Hindu, Irani, Turani, Kashmiri,—both men and women. The musicians were classified into 7 categories according to specialities, and one day of the week was allotted to each. Tansen, Haridas, Ramdas and more than a dozen Ustads adorned this period. There were more than a dozen noted instrumentalists on sar mandal, bin, flute, karana, tamburah ghichak, rubab etc. Ancient Ragas and Raginis were revived and instruments cared for. Khayal and Dhrupad developed as eclectic music. There were different centres of music throughout the empire, particularly Gujrat and Kashmir. In fact, music, in Akbar's days enjoyed noon-day splendour.

Akbar took great interest in the *education of the royal princes*.—his sons and grandsons. Prince Salim was placed under Qutbuddin Khan and Abdur Rahim Mirza. Prince Murad was coached by Faizi, Sharif Khan and Father Monsurat Daniyal was placed under Sayyid Khan Chaghtai. A grandson of the Emperor was placed in the care of Abul Fazl and a Brahmin teacher. On the other hand Murad received lessons from Jesuit Fathers. Akbar was *not antagonistic to female education*. Although girls' education could not be extensive in the mediaeval days, private indoor coaching, including training in the fine arts, existed in the upper strata of society. Akbar himself encouraged education of the harem girls for which he built a Zenana school in the fort-palace at Sikri.

The Great Emperor was also an *experimenter, innovator and improver*. His famous experiment on language learning is on record

and is widely known. Confronted with the claim of different representatives of religions that the first language uttered by the child was the language of their respective dogma, Akbar decided to conduct an experiment. There are varying reports about the details of the experimental procedure left by Badauni and Manucci or conclusions drawn therefrom by Father Catrou. Yet, the essence comes out that the Emperor had a group of new borns reared up in complete seclusion by dumb nurses, and it was discovered that the infants developed no language ability. Leaving aside the question of cruelty involved in the experiment, it resembled the present psychological experiments with controlled and experimental groups. The definite finding was that language ability is a contribution of environmental stimulation and scope of communication, and the child is not pre-ordained with any language-skill.

Akbar's innovation in the *method of language learning* is also worth mentioning. As against the Persian method of reading followed by writing, he championed the traditional Indian method of writing followed by reading as more economic and sure. The time-allotment was also decreed, viz-2 days for learning alphabets with accent and pronunciation, one week for combination of letters, then directed reading of short prose or verse with religious or moral lessons with combinations of alphabets, and lastly self reading. Akbar also decreed four daily exercises—alphabets, combinations, new hemistich or distich and repetition of earlier lessons. The subjects were to be taught in the following order—Morality, Arithmetic, Accounts, Agriculture, Geometry, Astronomy, Economics, Political Science, Physics, Logic, Natural Philosophy, Abstract Mathematics, Divinity and History.

The *essence of his reforms* may be summed up as—

(a) Quicker methods, (b) writing to precede reading, (c) emphasis upon meaning of words instead of mechanical rote, (d) pupils must understand by self-learning while the teacher should help when required, (e) revision of former lessons, (f) non-insistence upon many books without rational understanding, (g) practical knowledge and preponderance of science-subjects. (h) encouragement to mechanical arts. It was declared that "No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires". In fact, the reforms are favourably comparable with our modern educational concepts.

Akbar's epoch was marked by the growth of an *extensive system of*

education through schools and colleges. The emperor erected many new colleges. A big college at Fathpur Sikri and several other madrasahs in the city were founded at Akbar's instance. There was another big college at Agra where Akbar engaged famous philosophers from Shiraj. There were professors from Shiraj in other colleges of Agra too. All colleges, however, were not residential. Learned men coached at home at Post Graduate standard as Mir Ali Beg did. Like Feruz Shah Tughlug, Akbar also rewarded inventions and mechanical improvements. Music, painting, arts and industries were taught in private coaching.

Educational efforts of *private individuals*—the nobles and the wealthy middle classes were not lacking. The Madrasah of Akbar's foster mother Moham Anaga near Purana Kilah of Delhi was famous. Also remarkable was the college of Khawaja Muin. Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan (son of Bairam Khan) was a great scholar in Persian, Turkish, Hindi and Arabic. He had a library of his own. Many pupils sought his personal tuition. His son Mirza Iraj was also a great scholar.

Guided by the principles of Sufism, toleration and eclecticism, Akbar not only encouraged literary translations, but also the education of Hindus and Muslims alike. In fact, Hindus and Muslims during his days studied in the same schools. Hindus freely studied Vyakarana, Vedanta and Patanjali. The Emperor had decreed "education according to views of life and learner's circumstances." Abul Fazl records, "These regulations gave a new form to schools and made the colleges lights and ornament of the Empire." In fact, Akbar's patronage to learning spread far and wide. Tabaquat-i-Akbari lists 95 names who received imperial patronage. There was no religious discrimination in the appointment of teachers or in making endowments. Kashmiri Pundits tasted of his liberality. The centre of Hindu learning at Mithila received royal patronage. In fact, Akbar's educational reward founded the Zamindari house of Darbhanga. Madhabacharya of Triveni speaks highly of Akbar in *Chandī Mangal*.

The sum total of official and private encouragement led to a grand development of schools and colleges. Abul Fazl records, "All civilised nations have schools for the education of youths, but Hindustan is particularly famous for its seminaries".

In conclusion we must say that qualified with taste, Akbar had combined wealth and learning. His reign witnessed an abundance of literary men. The Emperor not only associated with learned men, but also bestowed lavish patronage in the form of pensions, stipends, rewards for personal encouragement, and endowments and grants for educational institutions. Guided by his principle of toleration and integrated empire, Akbar tried to identify with the people with a new attitude towards Hindu culture and learning by encouraging Ibadatkhana deliberations, translation of Sanskrit works, state patronage to qualified Hindus as well as by generous provision for Hindu youths to pursue their own culture even in Madrasah. His bounty was not limited to formal education only, but spread out to literature, fine arts, mechanical crafts, architecture and even pedagogy. Perhaps we may not call him an 'Educationist' or a 'Great Educator' in the modern scientific connotation of the terms, but we may unequivocally say that Akbar the Great in his imperial glory was also *Great as a patron of and contributor to education*. In fact, the glory of mediaeval Indian education reached its zenith in the days of Akbar the Great.

Akbar's Successors

Jahangir, son and successor of Akbar had been under great tutors. He had his initiation ceremony under Qutbuddin Md. Khan and had a great tutor in Abdul Rahim Mirza. He knew Persian and Turkish which enabled him to read Babur's Memoirs in original and to copy 4 chapters missing from the same. He was interested in History, and also wrote his own memoir. After accession, he had the dilapidated Madrasahs repaired. He repaired even such schools as "had been dwelling places of birds and beasts for 30 years, and filled them with students and teachers". Agra continued to be in a state of glory. Jahangir was a great lover of books and paintings. He collected books even at a high cost. Muktab Khan was his librarian and keeper of picture-gallery. In fact, Mughul painting reached its zenith during Jahangir. Farrukh Beg, Mansur and Abul Hasan were famous painters who introduced a new style. Thomas Roe is known to have received the present of a picture. Jahangir Namah was ornamented with paintings of animal forms. Musicians continued to be patronised. Learned men including Mirza Ghiyas Beg, Muhammad Khan, Naqib Khan and Nimatullah adorned

Jahangir's court. The splendour of architecture can still be assessed from Akbar's Musoleum at Sikandra and the tomb of Itamat-ud-daulah at Agra. On Friday, the emperor conferred with learned men, darweshas and recluses. Iqbal Namah-i-Jahangiri gives 17 names of learned men and 10 names of poets and 6 names of singers contemporary to Jahangir. The emperor is also known to have issued a famous regulation that the wealth of rich men or travellers dying without heirs, would escheat to the crown for use in establishing Madrasahs and monasteries.

Jahangir's son and successor *Shah Jahan* is better known for magnificence. But he did nothing to undo the work of his predecessors. He rather followed Akbar's footsteps. Schools still existed in a flourishing condition and rich endowments were continued.

Shah Jahan founded the Imperial College at Delhi near Jami-i-Masjid. He also repaired and revived the college named Dar-ul-Baqā (abode of eternity) and appointed Kazi Sadruddin Khan as its director. Shah Jahan also liked books on travel, biographies, histories (specially Life of Timur and Babur's Memoir) and set apart some time at night for private study. He was a great patron of music and himself sang well. He patronised Ramdas and Mahapattars. Painting received his encouragement and Md. Nadir Samarqandi introduced a pattern different from the Akbari style. Shah Jahan also ordered the writing of Padshah Namah by Mahammad Amin-i-Qazwini and encouraged learned men by rewards and stipends. Architecture was, however, a special contribution of Shah Jahan. Till date we take pride in his creations.

Shah Jahan's eldest son *Dara Shukoh* mastered Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. He translated Sanskrit works into Persian. Dara leaned towards Brahmins, Sannyasis and Yogis as well as Hindu philosophy. The Vedas inspired him. He collected Brahmins to translate them, and had the word 'Prabhu' engraved on his ring. Dara, a voluminous writer was the author of—(i) *Sirr-ul-Asrar* (Secret of Secrets), a Persian translation of the Upanishads, (ii) translations of Bhagwat Gita and Yogavasistha Ramayana. (iii) Biography of Saint Nizamuddin Auliya, (iv) An account of conversation between himself and Baba Lal Das on the life and doctrines of Hindu ascetics. In fact, Dara was a disciple of Sufi Mullah Shah and found the source

Dara's failure—
a tragedy

of Pantheism in the Vedas and Upanishadas. He wrote three works on Sufism.

Had Dara Shukoh who followed in the wake of Akbar succeeded Shah Jahan, the history of culture and education in the succeeding days might be written in a different vein. But that was not to be. Akbar's eclecticism and toleration could not attain permanency. Communal reaction had begun to rear its head even in the days of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Dara was partly its victim. And Aurangzeb completely turned the table.

Aurangzeb alone, however, is not to blame. An observation of the renowned traveller Bernier is worth noting—'A gross and profound ignorance reigns in those states, for how is it possible there should be academies and colleges well founded? Where are those founders to be met with? And if there were any, whence were the scholars to be had? Where are those that have means sufficient to maintain their children in colleges? And if there were, who would appear to be so rich? And if they would, where are those benefices, preferments and dignities that require knowledge and abilities, and that may animate young men to study?'

These remarks about Shah Jahan's time, even if partly true, shows that decadence had set in, educational endowments were drying out and the poverty stricken men could not provide for their children's schooling.

Aurangzeb's Anti-Climax

Shah Jahan's son and successor *Aurangzeb* cared very little for the promotion of Hindu learning. His political and administrative principles got mixed up with his educational policy. In fact, in 1669 he ordered provincial governors to destroy the Hindu schools and to put down their teachings. But, at the same time he fostered Islamic learning and caused its spread. He appointed professors throughout his dominions. He ordered that all Muslim students of certain grades were to be given pecuniary help from the treasury. Stipends were given to students in proportion to their progress in education. He also took steps to educate the Bohras of Gujrat for which he appointed teachers who were to hold monthly examinations and send reports thereon to the Emperor. He ordered the appointment of 3 extra professors at Ahmadabad, Surat and Patna and added the

Patronage to
Islamic education
only

names of 45 more students to the list of recipients of stipends. Aurangzeb repaired a Madrasah at Gujrat and helped a collage at Ahmadabad with the grant of a Jagir-village. In fact, he founded numberless schools and colleges. He also confiscated the Dutch buildings at Faringhee Mahal in Lucknow and used them as an educational institution. In spite of his communal bend, even Aurangzeb could not but confer with and show respect to renowned Hindu scholars of the time. Private individuals emulated the monarch in starting colleges. Sialkot became a great seat of Muslim learning. Maulana Abdullah taught here in a school. Paper was produced in this region and used here. But painting, music and poetry languished in his reign.

Aurangzeb provided for princely education in the harem under eunuchs. Manucci says that the princes were first taught to read and write Tatar, their mother tongue. Subsequently tutors gave lessons in military exercises, principles of equity, jurisprudence, religion and welfare of the nation. The teachers also regulated the amusements of the princes. Aurangzeb himself was well educated. His first teacher was Sadullah Khan and another was Mir Muhammed Hashim. He got the Koran-Hadis by heart, read and wrote Arabic and Persian, mastered the Chaghtai Turki. During fixed hours of the day he read and copied the Koran and used to sell the copies. He augmented the collection of the Imperial Library by adding theosophical books. He was particularly interested in law, and caused a compilation—'Fatwa-i-Alamgiri'. He read with interest theological commentaries and Imam Mahammad Ghazzali's works.

Although Aurangzeb had a bias towards religious works, he was not satisfied with his own learning as is evident from the Mulla Shah affair. When after Aurangzeb's accession to power his ex-teacher Mulla Shah waited on him in expectation of rewards, Aurangzeb's curricular ideas the ex-student rebuked and sent him away. The teacher was chastised 'because he had taught only Arabic and not even the mother tongue well. Idle and foolish propositions had been taught in the name of Philosophy and that too in obscure and uncouth terms, dark and ambiguous jargons. No effective lesson had been given on the distinguishing features of nations, their resources and strength, modes of warfare, manners, religion, forms of Govt, history, origin of states, their progress and decline, events, accidents and errors etc. No comprehensive history

of mankind had been taught, not even the languages of the surrounding kingdoms. The learning he received had been mere learning of words without comprehension and capacity of application. The only skill imparted was skill in law and grammar. Thus Aurangzeb raised objection to pedantry and formalism.

As against this he wanted Philosophy to adapt the mind to reason, to elevate the soul, to fortify it with equanimity against assaults of fortune. He demanded First Principles. He wanted lessons in reciprocal duties of king and subjects, arts of war, history, geography, languages and such habits and thoughts as would fortify the learner with capacity to face crises in life. The Mulla Shah incident, thus, throws interesting light upon the concept of higher educational curricula as distinct from formal theological and grammatical skill in the days of Aurangzeb inspite of the monarch's partisanship.

Insipite of their differences in outlooks, principles and extent of patronage, the Great Mughuls were, without exception, patrons of learning. There were many centres of learning, many colleges and Maktaba, and all Muslim boys were supposed to attend Maktaba. Hundreds of colleges existed upto the days of Shah Jahan. Yet it is interesting to note Babur's comment, "Hindustan has no colleges." After years of Mughul rule, Bernier, a contemporary of Shah Jahan remarked that no founders, no scholars, no fee-paying parents and no encouragement could be found.

It is difficult to accept Babur and Bernier in toto, for schools existed during the Sultanate and during the Badshahi. Perhaps Babur had applied the standard for Samarkhand in making his assessment, as Bernier applied the standard of 17th century Europe. Yet, both the observations were partially correct. What Babur had seen was the decay and declination in the last days of the Sultanate. And in the days of Bernier, inspite of the outward grandeur of Shah Jahan's empire, Mughul decline had already started. The process was unchecked durning Aurangzeb after whom came the deluge.

The Days of later Mughuls : The Days of Decline

Remnants of court patronage continued for years after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D. Emperor Bahadur Shah was well

educated and fond of the company of learned men. There are two instances of establishment of colleges during his reign, one by Ghaziuddin near the Ajmiri Gate of Delhi (closed in 1793 for want of funds), and the other by Khan Feroz Jung. A college was also established at Kanouj.

Muhammad Shah also showed some learning. Even during the turmoil of court cliques and Nadir Shah's invasion, there was impetus to the study of the sciences, particularly astronomy. Jai Singh's observatory 'Jantar Mantar' was built at Delhi. The charts made here were proved correct. The equatorial dial was of special interest. Observatories were built also at Jaipur, Ujjaini, Mathura and Banares. Nadir Shah's invasion, however, was a swansong and epilogue. The invader carried away the imperial library which was later sold in Persia at a ridiculously low price.

Even during Shah Alam II, the Imperial House tried to collect new books to reconstruct the library. Some Madrasahs were also founded as was one by Asafudaulah's minister Hasan Raza Khan. By the end of the 18th century, however, the whole edifice of education crumbled down together with the political system.

CHAPTER II

Some Remarkable aspects of Mediaeval Education

Most of the Mughul Emperors were themselves educated. All the Great Mughuls were patrons of learning. The nobility of the day also helped the cause of education. But it was education of the upper classes. The tradition of elementary education had to sustain itself as best as it could.

Of course India's tradition in elementary education is also old. Although the Sūtras and Manusamhita do not refer to mass elementary education, the Vaisyas had a system of teaching their youngsters. Knowledge of reading and writing had been fairly widespread before Manu. Writing was introduced by about 800 B.C. Works of 450 B.C. refer to a children's game named "Akkharika."

Ancient tradition and elementary education
Greek records of Nearchus and Quintus Curtius of the 4th century B.C. refer to writing, and Megasthenes refers to the use of milestones. Thus there was an ancient form of writing, although it had not acquired a literary status. It was more in vogue with the commercial

classes. Mahavagga refers to lekha, ganana (arithmetic) and rupe (arithmetic for commercial and agricultural use). During the Buddhist period, there was elementary education outside the Sangh. The Hatigumpha inscription refers to Kharavela's learning the 3 Rs. Lalita Vistara and Jataka stories corroborate the prevalence of elementary education. It occurs in Sigalovada Sutta that it was the parents' duty to teach arts and sciences. It also elaborates the duties of teachers and pupils. The Asokan inscriptions stand testimony to the then existence of popular education. In fact, Mahayan Buddhism and Vaisnavism helped the expansion of education. The monasteries ultimately had to provide for secular elementary education of the laity.

All through the mediaeval period, elementary Persian schools were numerous. Subhankar's tables were composed sometime in this period. Muslim schools did a great deal for elementary mass education.

Hindu vernacular schools were of several types viz.—

Mediaeval
ventures

(i) school connected with temples, conducted by the village priest with deottar endowment. These were

the common village Pathshalas ; (ii) schools patronised by Zamindars and other magnates ; (iii) commercial schools under individual venture ; (iv) Mahajani school where traders employed teachers for the education of their children. Teachers in these schools did not belong to one caste, and the office was not hereditary. It seems, therefore, that the village primary school was a later growth than the other aspects of Indian village life, particularly the stereotyped Varnasram.

Success and character of these schools depended upon the efficiency and ability of the teachers. But the teachers were mostly inefficient and narrow in their academic foundation. The aim was strictly utilitarian. Memorisation of rules and tables was emphasised. Teachers became subservient to patrons.

Nature of elemen-
tary schools

Yet there were hard working and conscientious teachers with close connection with life outside school. They imparted useful knowledge without temptation to impose 'formal discipline'. Writing preceded reading. The system of writing on sand with finger (as in Montessori method) helped muscular conditioning. The schools were generally open to all comers. They met the popular demand for 3 Rs. and were used chiefly by trading and agricultural classes. The Pathshalas had Kayastha teachers. The curriculum consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, drafting of letters and commercial and agricultural accounting. Instruction was individual. The Monitorial

System (which Andrew Bell introduced in England) helped both teacher and senior scholar.

There were 4 stages of instruction—(i) forming letters on the ground, which took 10 days ; (ii) palm leaf practice of lettering, writing and pronouncing compound consonants, combination of vowels and consonants ; (iii) attention to forms of letters, interconnection of words in sentences, literary and colloquial forms of speech, addition and subtraction, tables and measures, commercial and agricultural accounting ; (iv) composition of business letters, petitions and grants, reading the Ramayana, Manasa Mangal ect. Each school had its own time table. Generally, however, the schools sat in two sessions a day—from early morning to 9/10 O'clock and again from 3 P. M. to the evening. In Western India, the Pantoji collected the boys for attendance. In Southern India, the Pyal school resembled the Pathshala. The enrolment, however, scarcely exceeded a score in a school.

Thus there existed throughout the middle ages a widespread system of elementary education, whatever its weaknesses. The primary schools existed parallelly with Sanskrit schools. But there was no mutual dependence or interconnection. The Hindu primary schools were vernacular and commercial. The Sanskrit schools were pedantic and conventional. The Maktab was the sister of the Pathshala just as the Madrasah was the counterpart of the Tol. But there was a connection between Madrasah and Maktab, particularly in respect of languages. Urdu was the vernacular, not the medium of instruction. Persian was generally used as the medium of instruction. That is why Hindus also attended such schools. The Maktab used no printed books. Reading preceded writing. Penmanship, elementary Arabic and rote learning of a little of the Koran formed part of the curriculum. Like the Sanskrit school, the Madrasah curriculum was pedantic and theologically biased. Higher theological learning was mostly imparted in Arabic.

These types of schools maintained their existence inspite of socio-political upheavals. The account of indigenous education given by Rev. Adam as late as 1835 amply proves that in the earlier days of mediaeval history the school system had been far more extensive.

Curricula : The curriculum in the Maktab consisted of Kalima (article of Belief), some prescribed Suras of the Koran, usages and precepts as ordained by the Koran, 3 Rs, some selections from poems.

legends of prophets and anecdotes of Saints. Persian was widely used. A Maktab was often attached to a mosque. The curriculum of the Pathshala was composed of the 3 Rs, drafting of letters and documents, commercial and agricultural accounting etc.

The curriculum in the Madrasah consisted of Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Law, Fundamental doctrines of Islam, Natural Philosophy, translation of Ptolemy's Astronomy, Metaphysics. Some of the Madrasahs placed special emphasis upon theology and study of the Koran, while some others offered popular tales, poems (particularly Gulistan of Sadi) and even lessons in correspondence. Bias in the former case was theological. Medicine as a discipline was not widely offered. Akbar, however, favoured its inclusion. Yet, training in Hekimi was widespread outside the school system. In all cases, however, external observances of Islam were insisted upon. Higher education was thus formal and scholastic and confined to the upper classes and the Ulama. The rote method of learning was also in vogue. The general medium was Persian, but Arabic was a compulsory subject. Higher theological instruction was imparted in Arabic. Higher education of the Hindus continued to be offered in the traditional pattern through the Tols and Chatuspathis. (Their curricular organisation was discussed in a previous chapter.) Whatever the shortcomings of the mediaeval system of higher education in India, as judged by our modern standards, there is no denying that the system was favourably comparable with education in the mediaeval universities of Europe.

Education of Women : Islam does not place any injunction against the education of women. On the other hand, the Prophet had considered it essential. 'Qanuni Islam' shows that girls read the Koran and observed the initiation ceremony. Young girls were taught in school. This explains the abundance of learned women like Fatima, Hamida, Sofia, Zainab, Maryam, Aishah and others in the glorious days of Islam. That tradition was to a great extent lost in course of time. The introduction of seclusion and Pardah further narrowed the scope. In the social condition of mediaeval India, there could be no quantitative expansion of female education. But qualitative excellence was maintained although in a limited circle of the aristocracy. The Sultans and Badshahs also maintained the tradition of patronage. Some of the monarchs established separate schools for girls, as Akbar had done. Education of the aristocrat

women was mostly provided in the harem. Tutors were appointed for exercises in the fine arts. Some of the learned women were themselves patrons of learning.

Sultana Raziya was well read. Babur's daughter Gulbadan Begum wrote the Humayun Namah and collected books for her own library. Another literary genius was Salima Sultana, daughter of Gulrukh (another sister of Humayun) who used the penname of Mukhfi. Akbar's foster mother Mohan Anaga was learned and a patron of learning and founded a college. Nurjahan was thoroughly versed in Persian and Arabic literature, as well as crafts. Mumtaz-mahal was well versed in Persian and could compose poem in it. Shah Jahan's eldest daughter Jahanara Begum was well educated and composed her own epitaph. She was a patron of learning. Safiunnissa, a learned lady was her tutoress. Under her influence, Mumtaz paid pensions and donations to daughters of poor scholars and theologians. Aurangzeb's eldest daughter Jebunnesa knew Persian and Arabic well and was skilled in Calligraphy. Budrunnesa, another daughter of Aurangzeb knew the Koran by heart. The tradition of household education of Hindu women also continued on a limited scale throughout the middle ages. Sultan Ghiyasuddin of Malwa appointed mistresses for ladies of the Harem. Some Hindu ladies also acquired fame as poetesses, e.g. Mirabai and Chandrabati. But, mass education of women of both the communities was at a discount. Moreover, in the days of decay, education of women was a first victim of conservatism.

Vocational Education

Muslim rulers in mediaeval India had for a long time considered themselves as victorious rulers destined only to rule and administer. Military career was most aspired after and widely open before them. Agriculture, productive industrial crafts, trade or even inferior administrative employments were considered unsuited to their birth or rank. The traditional pattern of Hindu vocational education, therefore, continued as before, particularly for the non-Muslims.

But things changed with the birth of new generations and with accretion of numerical strength by mass conversion to Islam. A Hindu weaver when converted to Islam did not automatically give up the family profession. Thus the problem of providing vocational education infiltrated into the Islamic system also. Through-

out the middle ages, however, the traditional vocational pattern continued to exist. Vocational training was mainly craftbased and 'conducted in the family unit in apprenticeship system.' Moreover, most of the crafts continued to be dominated by Hindu craftsmen. Hence, the traditional pattern of vocational education was not basically altered.

In two things, however, the mediaeval rulers made important contributions. Great builders as they were, they imported master craftsmen and architects from Persia and Turkey. Practical training under them uplifted Indian craftsmanship. This development affected the Hindu Kingdoms too. Most of the historical palaces, castles and monuments in Rajasthan and else where bear testimony to this fact.

Slavery was a mediaeval vice. But many of the Muslim rulers were conscious of the need for educating the slaves. Feruz Tughluq provided vocational training for the large band of his slaves and established 'Karkhanas' for that purpose. Akbar was also sympathetic to the cause of such vocational education.

Centres of Learning

The Sultans and Badshas of India, did not foster the growth of big Universities as had grown up in Alexandria, Cairo or Cordova. Fortunes of education in mediaeval India changed in accordance with the fortunes of ruling dynasties or even ruling princes. The nerve centres of administration having shifted from place to place, the centres of learning also shifted. Instead of a few mighty universities, India, therefore, experienced the growth (as well as decline) of many centres of learning with many Madrasahs and Colleges in each (as had been Benares and Mithila etc in the case of Hindu learning).

Delhi was the centre of light during the early days of the Sultanate till the reign of Mahmud Bin Tughluq under the patronage of Qutbuddin, Iltutmish, Balban, the Khaljis and the early Tughluqs. It regained partial glory from the days of Shah Jahan which continued throughout the days of the later Mughals. The centre shifted to Ferozabad from the time of Feroz Shah Tughluq. The Lodis began to patronise Agra, which, together with Fathpur Sikri continued to receive it during the early Mughal days.

With the decline of the Sultanate there arose many local principalities with roots in the local soil. Many local centres of learning, patronised by local Princes and Amirs adorned this period. In the

territories of the Bahmani Kingdom arose Gulbarga, Ellichur, Bidar, Daulatabad etc. under the patronage of Hassan Md. Shah, Feroz Shah Bahmani, Mahmud Gawan etc.

Bijapur received the patronage of Adil Shah, Ismail Shah, Ibrahim Shah. Golconda had the blessings of Qutb Shah. Khandesh was patronised by Nasir Khan Faruqi, and Malwa by Mahmud Khilji, Ghiyasuddin and subsequently by Baz Bahadur. Multan had Husain Langa as its patron. Jaunpur acquired fame during Ibrahim Sharqi, Mahmud Shah etc. Gour as a centre of learning in Bengal received the patronage of Ghiyasuddin, Nasir Shah, Ghiyasuddin II, Yusuf Shah, Hussain Shah etc. Badaun, Patna, Ahmadabad and Ajmere gradually rose into fame which continued through the Mughal era.

During the decline of the Mughal era more centres developed at Allahabad, Khairabad, Sahali (near Lucknow).

The State and Education

True to mediaevalism, the character of the state during the whole period of Sultanate and Badshahi was autocratic. The monarch was the ultimate authority in every sphere of administration education being no exception. Well defined administrative rules and regulations under clearly demarcated departments of Government were not to be found. Obviously there was no existence of an administrative department of education. Only in the case of Babur, reference is made of the P.W.D. which was entrusted with the task of building new schools.

In spite of the existence or non-existence of a department of education, the policy of the monarch was the policy of the state. When a particular monarch patronised education, schools came into existence overnight and teachers were recruited from various corners of the country or from abroad. In the absence of such patronage the school had to pass through evil days. Schools enjoying permanent endowment of land did not have to face starvation. But schools dependent upon pensions and stipends could not but suffer hardships. Even landed endowments were no sure guarantee on account of the frequent transference of Jagirs which affected the endowments. This explains the ups and downs in the fortune of educational institutions.

Although the state did not directly control education, indirect influence reigned supreme. The men of letters at the royal court

depended upon the good humour of the monarch. Education flourished only when successive monarchs took up the cause of education. It waned if the monarch turned away from education.

The dependence of education upon political authority is clearly borne out by the decadence of Jaunpur. It had been almost conventionalised that Princes and Amirs while passing by Jaunpur used to pay visits to its Madrasahs and make donations. About 1735 A.D. Nawab Saadat Khan Nishapuri was appointed Subadar of Oudh, Benares and Jaunpur. He visited the city, but the learned men of it did not come to see him. To avenge this insult the Nawab confiscated the Jagirs and stipends. The students and professors were scattered and Madrasahs became empty.

Types of School

Throughout the middle ages the Tols and the Pathshalas continued to exist although their glories were to a great extent, compromised. But two new types of school were added. The Madrasah was an institution of secondary and higher learning. Primarily theoretical instructions in Islamic matters were given in such schools. These were mostly endowed and 'free' institutions. These were also residential schools. The teachers were paid pensions and students were paid stipends. Some big institutions were known as colleges. Disciplined life with emphasis upon daily time table as well as regular saying of prayers was insisted upon. Almost without exception, these institutions were founded near Mosques or tombs. These institutions received patronage of the kings and the nobility. That is why, with the decrease in financial patronage the institutions faced crisis.

Islamic theology and law formed the core of the curriculum in these institutions, the medium being Arabic. Persian featured as a second and important language. While the Hindu system of higher education had developed a wide curriculum by incorporating various subjects, the Madrasahs could very little change their character. A religious air pervaded the precincts of these institutions. They could not shed their conservatism and failed to approach the life of the common men and their worldly interests.

The other type of institution was the Maktab, the institution for elementary education of the masses maintained primarily by the common people. While the Hindu Pathshala was least subjected to scriptural influences, the Maktab was at least partially subjected to

Islamic injunctions. On the whole, however, the Maktab served the temporal needs of the society.

The Sultans and Badshahs rallied Ulamahs from within and without India to glorify their courts. But the court-centric culture failed to reach the poor hamlets and enlighten the intellectual horizon of the ordinary masses.

Teacher—Pupil relation : The relation between teacher and taught was paternal. Madrasah teachers and students often lived together in common residential establishments provided by generous donors. The student's duties were specified in respect of personal service to the teacher, and in respect of his own disciplined living. A round-the-clock time table had to be inviolably followed. Collective prayer with accompanying rituals was particularly insisted upon. The institutions of higher learning enjoyed the benefit of landed endowments. Students received extensive stipends and scholarships provided by wealthy citizens. Accommodation for students was often provided in private houses. Householders considered it a matter of social prestige to provide such board and lodging. The teachers were intimately related with local socio-religious life. Together with students they responded to social invitations where the teachers performed priestly duties. Varied types of social benefaction made higher education practically free. Teachers enjoyed an exalted position. The courts were centres to pay homage to poets, philosophers, historians, chroniclers and theologians. Pensions were magnanimously granted. High moral integrity of teachers reciprocated this trust and honour.

This attitude to learning influenced the system of primary education too. It was an act of piety to establish a mosque. And each mosque had a Maktab attached to it. The moulvi was often a local resident. He adopted teaching duty as a part time engagement, spending the spare time in other economic pursuits. Yet, he was a common guardian of the morals of all children placed in his care. In that capacity he was very intimately related with every household and performed priestly duties whenever called for in regard to circumcision, marriage or death. He also functioned as the 'imam' of the village mosque. A teacher from a distant place was honourably accepted as a resident in a village house.

The village folk generously donated towards the maintenance of the maktab, of course within their limited capacities. Larger

public donations were spent for the maintenance of Orphanages (etimkhana). Grown up students helped in the management of boarding houses and acted as monitors in the schools.

Institutions of higher learning established and maintained by the state, however, appointed far-famed salaried teachers, or pension holders. State endowments were made for board and maintenance of scholars. Problems of theology or law were sometimes referred to famous Ulamas for opinion and decision. Thus, apart from teaching duties, the famous teachers rendered some service directly or indirectly to the state. On the whole, therefore, the place of the teacher was lofty, the life of the student was secure, and teacher-pupil relation was sound.

Methods of Teaching

Unlike ancient Hindu learning which had to depend mainly upon rote and recitation due to absence of reading and writing matters, the mediaeval education in India had reading and writing to serve and help it. Calligraphy developed as an art. Yet, the methods followed in the Madrasah differed little from rote. Students were required to learn the matter by heart. Reading, therefore, received more importance than writing. Exposition of ideas through questions or discourses was not as important and as extensive as had been the case in ancient India. Similarly learned assemblies were not numerous.

Akbar attempted to bring about changes in methods of instruction. The effects of his attempt, however, were not remarkably extensive and impressive. This also explains the conservatism in the Madrasah system of education.

Discipline

Like the Brahmanic and the Buddhistic systems of education the Islamic system had very little worry about students' discipline. The aim of education was to live in a particular way of life characterised by some socio-moral values. Islam enjoined that those values must be acquired and habitually practised. The observance of some behavioural patterns following a fixed routine with pre-fixed timings for prayers and studies, and religious or socio-political duties pre-determined for them made the students attentive to studies and habituated to discipline. Although the students had not to observe anything like meditation or Yoga as had been the case with the Brahmanic system, they had to observe certain injunctions against

eating, dressing and drinking. Above all, the close paternal relation between teacher and pupil and the guarantee of a quiet and sheltered life ensured students' discipline.

Aims of Education

The conditions of life on the one hand and the aspirations on the other hand determine the philosophy of life, and philosophy of life determines the philosophy of education. The Arabian conditions of life which provided the background for the rise of Islam had been characterised by irrational beliefs, internecine quarrels, immoral practices. The Prophet sought to bring about a settled, quiet and unified social life based upon social and personal duties well defined in the Koran. The injunctions were further stereotyped by the Hadis and subsequent commentaries.

Islamic education having arisen in a particular social context with the objective of attaining another way of life necessarily placed emphasis upon a disciplined and moral life. Instead of abstract spiritual speculations, the aim of education was more inclined towards enlightenment and freedom from blind superstitious practices. Hence, understanding the words of the Prophet, His principles and practices as embodied in the Koran and other scriptural texts, and practical application of the same in individual life constituted the core of the aims of education. Obviously, "Morality" was the kernel.

Moral Education

As in Hindu education so in Islamic education emphasis was specially placed upon morality. The practical manifestation of the spiritual content of Islamic philosophy demands a moral and disciplined life of the believer. The Prophet says, "Acquire knowledge, because he who acquires it in the world of the "Lord", performs an act of piety; he who speaks of it, praises the Lord; who seeks it, adores God; who dispenses instructions, bestows alms; and who imparts it to its fitting objects, performs an act of devotion to God. *Knowledge enables its possessor to distinguish what is forbidden from what is not, it lights the way to heaven; it is our friend in the desert, our society in solitude, our companion when we are left of our friend; it guides us to happiness, it sustains us in temptation, it serves as an ornament in the company of friends, it serves as an armour against enemies. With knowledge, the servant of God rises*

to the height of goodness and to a noble position, associates with the sovereignty in this world, and attains perfect happiness in the next."

Knowledge, thus leads to goodness and happiness, it dissuades the learner from temptation and enables him to choose between the good and the bad. The value of ethical training is, thus, clearly stressed. Fear of God is the beginning of wisdom and everything else. Hence, all laws and theories of morals are rooted in the sayings of God as recorded in the Koran. The believers are called upon to imitate and act according to the life and deeds of the Prophet. The same authority plays a predominant part in all ethics based upon theology and religion. All the ways of life are marked out. Moral life is determined on the authoritative teachings and prescriptions of the Prophet and other saints to whom divine knowledge was revealed.

Invaigha Al (ihazzali (Revival of the Science) throws light upon the prescribed moral training of the youth. There are dictates in minutest details about the habits of sitting, taking meal, sleeping, serving teacher etc. The trainee must avoid gluttony, must acquire proper postures of sitting, walking, reading and sleeping with proper demeanour in the social context. The trainee had to be submissive, disciplined and servile to the teacher and to the elders. Even the ways of talking and paying respect to elders had to be practised. In fact, a disciplinary concept determined the essence of morality.

It had its weakness too. The disciplinary concept made customs and examples take the place of scientific analysis. Customary usage became very important in Muslim life. Every pious Muslim wants to perform actions in the minutest details in the recorded manners which are the words of the Prophet. The sedulous adherence to fixed modes and practices of life made Islamic education more stereotyped and conservative and less adjustable.

Apart from these inherent dictates, the social prestige enjoyed by men of morality and the honour bestowed upon them inspired the young learners to emulate their exemplary life. Motivation for moral and ethical living was thus partly dictated by theology, partly by the educative process and partly by social valuation.

State of Hindu Learning

The glory of ancient education is generally considered to have come to end with the end of Harshavardhan's reign. The period between

647 A.D. and 1200 A.D. was a period of political chaos and disunity. Yet learning was not totally absent. Yasovarman of Kanauj was a patron of learning as was Mihir Bhoja of the Pratihara dynasty. Bhababhuti flourished in the 8th century. Kanauj was a centre of learning and Vedic culture. (Five Brahmins are said to have been brought from Kanauj to Bengal with the object of uplifting Brahmanical culture). Sankaracharya's advent occurred in the 9th century. The Pala kings sustained the tradition and founded new Viharas including the Vikramsila Mahavihara. During the Senas of Bengal, Nabadwip flourished as a centre of learning. Joydev was a court poet of Luxmanasena. Other literary activities were not wanting. Commentaries of Kumaril Bhatta, Mimamsa Sutra of Jaimini, Sankaracharya's commentaries on Bhagavat Gita and Vedanta Sutra, Ramanuja's works, Bhaskara's works on Algebra and Astronomy were remarkable contributions of the period between 700 A.D. and 1200 A.D. A miraculous development of architecture also occurred in this period. As E. B. Havell says, "The spirit of Indian art attained perfection in about 8th and 9th centuries A.D., just when Gothic art developed in Europe."

The period between 1200 A.D. and 1757 A.D. witnessed the development of vernacular literature. Vidyapati of Mithila, Mirabai of Rajasthan and Chandidas of Bengal adorned this period. But, with the decline of Buddhism on the one hand, and the advent of Islam on the other, priestly domination was reassertive and casteism rigid. Early marriage and seclusion of girls placed women's education at a discount. Docility and loss of ambition (with the exception of some Rajput states, Vijaynagar and subsequently the Marathas) caused a loss of enterprise. The torch of learning and literary work still burnt. But, V. Smith says, "Literature, though actively cultivated and patronised by many local courts sank far below that attained by Kalidasa." Education became a recapitulation of the past.

However devastating the effects of Islamic culture had been in the context of its first impact, some future benefits accruing from a cultural synthesis lay in the nature of things.

Cultural synthesis

When a mighty culture comes in contact with a weaker culture, whether in inimical or in friendly relations, the former stands the chance of swallowing up or absorbing the latter. Athenian culture

had made itself felt in the region under Athenian influence. The Roman Empire had Romanised the area under its domination. The 'Barbarians' had destroyed the political stability of Rome. But these victors were vanquished on the cultural front. Post Mourya foreign invaders from Central Asia had curbed out kingdoms for them in India, but were themselves absorbed by Indian culture. The same had happened in the case of Turko-Arab cultural expansion in the Middle East.

But, a different development occurs when two equally mighty cultures come into mutual contact. The two co-exist and neither is absorbed. They interact and interpolate. A cultural synthesis is the inevitable outcome. Greek and Roman cultures had interacted. The Crusades had provided scope for interaction between Christian (western) and Turkish cultures. Similarly, traditional Indian culture and Islamic culture co-existed throughout the middle ages. The impact of one upon the other was tremendous. Instead of one absorbing the other, the outcome was a synthesis. The impact of interaction in the field of education was noteworthy.

In the field of education, we are interested in that religious interaction which had an educational by-product. The growth of Sufism and Vaishnavism and many popular forms of inter denominational practices should be noted first. Many of the rulers welcomed this development and adopted secular principles in statecraft. Akbar went so far as to preach religious eclecticism. Cultural interaction in the literary field was most productive. Akbar and Dara were special contributors in this respect. Literary interaction was most productive in the regional kingdoms. Our regional culture patterns and vernaculars found definite shape. The case of Bengal may be cited for example. The creations of our Vaishnav poets are to be attributed to this background. The 'Mangal Kavyas' of Bengal are also specific contributions of this period. On the other hand, literary interaction led to the evolution of Urdu as a common language.

Direct impact upon educational systems and practices was no less important. Islam is known to have no caste divisions. But in the Indian context, elements of casteism entered into the Islamic system of education, although not directly, nor with the same nomenclature. The rulers and the upper stratum of military personnel enjoying court privilege formed a class by themselves. This aristocracy provided for

their own education and did little for the common men whom they looked down upon. Segments from the lower castes of Hindu society embraced Islam, but could not shake off their caste stigma in spite of the democratic tenets of Islam. As in Hindu society, so in Muslim society primary education of the masses had to languish. The like happened in women's education. The Arabian tradition of women's education was not carried forward to India. Instead, the system of 'pardah' came into vogue. The pardah system entered into the Hindu society, thereby affecting the tradition of women's education. Social conservatism resulted in educational conservatism.

Positive effects of inter-action were no less important. The curricular organisations in the two systems acquired similarity with the exception of religious content. Islamic education had been mainly theological, demanding acquaintance with the Koran even at the primary stage. The Hindu Pathshala had been more realistic and utilitarian. The Maktab gradually acquired this realism and utilitarianism. Hindu scholars joined Madrasahs to acquire knowledge of Persian. Some of the monarchs consciously fostered this trend as Akbar did. Temporal education in the two parallel systems became favourably comparable with each other. Teacher-pupil relation, the system of residential pupilage, 'free' education under social benefaction, concepts and practices of discipline and morality also acquired similarity by and large. The Indian tradition and pattern of vocational education was also adopted in the Islamic system.

While literary interaction led mainly to translations and adaptations, interaction in the fields of architecture, fine arts and music led to a happier synthesis. Forms and patterns got mixed up in Mughul art, Mughul architecture and Music. Even during the Sultanate, Turkish architecture and masonic style had mixed up with their Indian counterparts.

Conscious adoption of pedagogic principles was very important. We have discussed how Akbar adopted the Indian methods of teaching at the primary stage. The sequence of studies proposed by him was also an adaptation of the sequence practised in India.

The two systems of education, thus, co-existed and became indebted to each other. The two together made a whole pattern of mediaeval education in India. Islamic education enjoyed the privilege of strong patronage of the ruling class and the nobility. But this strength became its weakness. It had to depend upon the whims of

monarchs. Moreover, the decline of the Mughul ruling authority caused the decline of the Islamic system of education. Hindu education had lost much of benefaction with the advent of Turkish power. But with its roots in tradition it outlived the storms although with reduced vigour and accelerated failure to exhibit new creativity. No doubt the Islamic system left an inheritance of Madrasahs and Maktabas for us, yet the traditional indigenous system bequeathed more numerous schools and more effective traditions. The heritage, however, was largely tarnished by political and social anarchy concomitant with the decay of the Mughul Empire.

The Phase of Decadence and Anarchy

The Mughul Empire legally ceased to exist as late as 1858 although it had died an ignominious death as early as 1707 A.D. The intervening long period of 150 years was a period of an agonising march towards inevitable extinction.

Aurangzeb, the last of the Great Mughuls died in 1707 A.D. Even during his life time Northern India witnessed the outbreak of rebellions in various localities, of various groups of people. The Maratha power was strongly entrenched in the South. The break up of the empire was a matter of years only.

Subsequent to the death of Aurangzeb, the Delhi court was constantly a seat of turmoil. Palace cliques reigned supreme. Emperors were made or unmade overnight by rival groups of Amirs. Emperors were killed or blinded within the palace. Nadir Shah's invasion and killing-orgy in 1739 sapped the residual vitality of the Empire. The real authority of the monarch was circumscribed to a small area around Delhi. The powerless emperors had to trade in 'Khitabs' to ensure their physical existence and to keep up their luxury and debauchery.

Provincial kingdoms reared their heads on the disjointed bones of the empire. The Nawabs of Bengal or Oudh and the like were sovereign kingdoms for practical purposes, although the crown of Delhi was the de jure sovereign for the whole of India. The situation was made still worse by the rise of military adventurers like Aliyardi Khan or fortune seekers like the Nizam of Hyderabad. 18th Century India, therefore, presented a picture of political anarchy. Regular administration had crumbled down. The flow of educational patronage was thereby dislocated and dried up

There was anarchy in economy too. Grant of Jagirs being associated with the acquisition of the crown, rapid shifts in political authority caused rapid shifts in Jagir-holdings. Without certainty of a long tenure, the Jagirdars and Zamindars adopted the policy of quick returns by inhuman exploitation of the peasant masses and village craftsmen. The paternal feudal relationship between Lord and Villein was lost. In Bengal, for example, Murshid Quli Khan dislodged all the major houses of traditional Zamindars and re-allotted the holdings with particular emphasis upon collection of rent. Educational patronage was voluntary and not pre-conditional to the holding of Zamindari rights. Obligations of the predecessor were not binding obligations of the successor. Change in Zamindari rights, therefore, affected the educational grants, endowments and pensions, thereby affecting educational provisions.

Bargi incursions caused further damage to Bengal and Central India in mid-18th century. The successive Bargi raids left destruction and desolation behind. We may cite the example of Bengal where the territories to the west of the Bhagirathi were widely affected. Peasants and weavers had to flee to the other bank of the river, leaving their ploughs and looms behind. This was a deadly shock to the economic life of the people and necessarily a death-blow to the educational institutions maintained by them. This dislocation in the western territories depleted the revenue resources of the Nawabi. Yet, Alivardi Khan had to mount up defensive measures depending upon the meagre resources of the eastern territories of the state. The first victim of this turmoil and the anarchic conditions was education.

The death pangs of a mediaeval society caused a twofold social reaction. Loss of values led to social anarchy and growth of socio-personal immorality. As against this, the Pundits and Mollas prescribed social conservatism with the object of saving the crumbling social structure and social order. Educational and social freedom of women was largely sacrificed at the altar of conservatism. And caste baiting was intensified.

A great damage was done on the cultural front. Cultural virility was lost. Cultural creativity got bogged in social anachronism. Courseness and vulgarity found their way into literary creations. The schools that still existed, offered only exercises in repetitive lessons, in a formalised fashion.

Starved of patronage and affected by anarchy, many of the schools went physically out of existence. Those which retained existence had to lose a great part of their vitality. The indigenous Hindu and Islamic systems of education that still existed were but carcasses of what they had once been. An educational and cultural vacuum was thereby caused. In this mooringless life, a large part of the oppressed people was ready to get hold of a new anchorage of rescue. The Western Missionaries who had already been in the field now entered in right earnest into the arena to fill in the vacuum. A new era, the modern era in Indian education thus began.

Important Turko-Afghan Sultans and Mughul Emperors known to have patronised education.

Ghaznavides :	Smaller Principalities
Sultan Mahmud = 998—1030 A.D.	Bahmani :
„ Masud I = 1030—1040 „	Hasan Gangu = 1347—1358
„ Ibrahim = 1059—1099 „	Mahmud Shah = 1375—1397
„ Bairam bin Masud = 1099—1114 „	Feroz Shah = 1397—1421
	Md. Shah = 1463—1481
Sultans of Delhi :	Bijapur :
Md. Ghorī = 1174—1206 A.D.	Adil Shah = 1489—1510
Qutbuddin = 1206—1210 „	Ismail Shah = 1510—1534
Iltutmish = 1210—1236 „	Ibrahim Shah = 1534—1557
Sultana Raziya = 1236—1240 „	Golconda :
Nasiruddin = 1246—1266 „	Md. Qutb Shah
Ghiyasuddin Balban = 1266—1287 „	Ahmadnagar :
Jalaluddin Khalji = 1290—1296 „	Ahmad Nizam Shah
Alauddin Khalji = 1296—1316 „	Khandesh :
Ghiyasuddin Tughluq = 1321—1325 „	Nasir Khan Faruqi
Md. Bin Tughluq = 1325—1351 „	Malwa :
Feroz Shah Tughluq = 1351—1388 „	Md. Khalji = 1435—1469
	Ghiyasuddin = 1469—1500
Bahlul Lodi = 1451—1483 „	Baz Bahadur
Sikandar Lodi = 1488—1518 „	Multan :
	Husain Langa
Mughul Emperors :	Kashmir :
Babur = 1526—1530 A.D.	Zainul Ahedīn
Humayun = 1530—1536 „	Jaunpur :
Akbar = 1556—1605 „	Ibrahim Sharqi = 1401—1440
Jahangir = 1605—1628 „	Mahmud Shah = 1440—1457
Shah Jahan = 1628—1659 „	Bengal ;
and 1555—1556	
Aurangzeb = 1659—1707 „	Ghiyasuddin = 1212—1227
Bahadur Shah = 1707—1712 „	Nasir Shah = 1282—1325
Mahammad Shah = 1719—1748 „	Ghiyasuddin II = 1367—1373
Shah Alam II = 1757—1806 „	Yusuf Shah = 1474—1481
	Husain Shah = 1493—1518

PART III

EDUCATION UNDER BRITISH RAJ

CHAPTER I

Early Missionary Work

We now enter into our discussion on the development of education in the modern period. The term 'modern', however, is relative. Advent of the modern era differed from country to country in respect of time. Modern age on the Continent is calculated with effect from 1453 A.D. when India was very much mediaeval. In fact, the modern era in a particular country is characterised by certain social, economic and political characteristics and value systems which are different from those in ancient and mediaeval life and are much in advance.

It is very difficult to specify a particular date or year whence the modern age began in India. Generally, however, the break up of the Mughal empire after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D. is accepted as the end of the mediaeval period in history. The new era witnessed the growth of a new economic pattern—a commercial
New elements
monetary economy, the development of new social values, new education and a new political pattern. Missionaries of 17th—18th Centuries provided a link between mediaeval education and modern education and helped the transition from the former to the latter.

Missionary infiltration

The missionaries, however, had been active since the 16th Century. The Portuguese had been here much before the incorporation of the English East India Company in 1600 A.D. Consequent upon the discovery of the sea-route to India by Vas-co-da-Gama in 1498 A.D. the Portuguese merchants entered into a regular commercial relation with their Indian counterparts. They established some trading settlements and military garrisons. Clergymen accompanied the merchants, sailors and soldiers to (i) perform priestly duties, (ii) preach and proselytize, and to (iii) teach. Throughout the middle ages, preaching and teaching had gone together in Europe. The theory behind was that since the Church was the guardian of the spirit and since education was a matter of the spirit, the Church must also be the guardian of education and enjoy a special prerogative amounting to monopoly. That tradition was brought forward to India.

From the 2nd half of the 16th Century there was a spate of missionary activities throughout the world. Consequent upon the Reformation and the Counter Reformation in Europe and a prolonged conflict between the two, missionaries of both the camps staked everything to secure new adherents. Hence missionaries spread out in all directions. The Jesuits of the Roman Catholic Camp were particularly zealous. Geographical discoveries helped the missionaries. The same discoveries also helped the merchants. Thus merchants and missionaries entered into the vast global field and particularly the subcontinent of India. Occasionally they worked together, and occasionally they were separated. Yet, successes of one directly or indirectly helped the other. They were, therefore, mutual benefactors. The missionaries infused a new religion and a new culture. The merchants infused a new economic relationship. Directly or indirectly this process prepared the ground for the establishment of British hegemony in India. The missionaries functioned as religious and cultural vanguard. The political and economic spearheads upheld the "whiteman's burden".

The Portuguese

The Indian field was also favourable. Portuguese Fathers had visited Akbar's Court. Portuguese merchants had established 'Kuthis'. Their missionaries had been active since the last half of the 16th Century. But peaceful relation was often disturbed by over zealous merchants and Portuguese pirates. Any way, credit goes to the Portuguese missionaries for initiating missionary educational enterprise in India. Various devices were adopted by them to attract the Indian people. The credit of ingenuity in this respect also goes to them.

A few types of institutions were established by the Portuguese missionaries viz. (i) Elementary schools of Parochial type, (ii) Orphanages providing vocational preparation together with the 3 Rs., (iii) Jesuit College (at Goa in 1575) as is mentioned in Bernier's account, (iv) Theological Colleges and Seminaries for the training of Indian Clergymen, and (v) One University type institution at Salcette. Peculiarities of Portuguese enterprise need be noted, viz. (i) although a few institutions of higher learning were founded, their efforts were more concentrated upon

elementary education, (ii) they used the vernaculars as media of propaganda and of instruction, (iii) they began the use of the printing press, (the first at Goa and subsequently four more) and thereby became pathfinders in this new direction, and (iv) their efforts were more directed towards the ordinary masses from amongst whom they secured converts.

The hey day of Portuguese enterprise declined in the 17th Century. The Portuguese pirates were much responsible for it. On several occasions the Provincial Governors of the Mughul Empire had to mount military expeditions to expel these foreigners bag and baggage.

The pitfalls of merchants and missionaries caused the
 End of an era loss of their popularity in certain localities. More important, however, was the decline of Portugal as a maritime power in face of the formidable challenge of the Dutch. Portugal lost her hegemony over the Sea of Arabia and the Indian Ocean which had once become a Portuguese lake. With the withdrawal of maritime and mercantile efforts, Portuguese missionary enterprise also declined. Some institutions continued to live in the isolated garrisons and settlements. It is not to be construed, however, that the missionaries withdrew altogether. Further expansion of enterprise was not possible. Yet the missionary educators continued to conduct their established institutions against odds in the changed political conditions. Many of the famous institutions of present day India owe their existence to the herculean efforts of these early missionaries.

The Dutch and The French

The Dutch maritime power replaced the Portuguese in the 17th Century. But, apart from establishing some isolated trade settlements in India, they did very little of importance. Their major attention was directed to Ceylon, and particularly to South East Asia where they ultimately founded the Dutch Colony of East Indies (Indonesia). Hence, contributions of the Dutch towards education in India were insignificant. The vacuum created by the withdrawal of the Portuguese was, however, filled in by the French, Danish and English missionaries.

It was early 18th century, and the time was favourable for effective missionary educational and proselytising enterprise. The state of things consequent upon the downfall of the Mughul empire was discussed in the previous chapter. The vacuum in education and

culture caused by socio-political degeneration was effectively utilised by missionaries with a new enthusiasm.

The *French East India Company* entered into a political and commercial venture in right earnest with the far-flung dream of a French Empire in India. French missionaries also joined the fray in right earnest. In their educational enterprise, they imitated the Portuguese by and large. Their efforts were not restricted to Christian population alone. They also recruited Portuguese and Indian teachers and founded institutions at Pandichery, Madras and Chandernagore. True to the French tradition of 'Culture Generale', they established an efficient secondary school at Pandichery to impart liberal education. Their efforts, however, were restricted mainly to Southern India where they had entered into a mortal contest with the British company for a foothold on the Indian soil. But the Goddess of Victory favoured the English, and for all practical purposes the French had to withdraw. Their schools, however, continued to exist with the missionaries sticking to their posts, of course under the hegemony of the British Indian Empire.

English Efforts

We now turn our attention to the British East India Company (hereafter to be mentioned as E. I. Co. or simply 'Company') the role of which is of vital interest to us. The Company was conscious of the vital role that might be played by the missionaries in aid of their commercial and political ventures. As early as 1614, the authorities had issued a directive that "steps be taken for the recruitment of Indians for the propagation of the Gospel amongst their countrymen". Some converted Indians were actually sent to England for training. In 1636, Arch Bishop Laud introduced the study of Arabic at Oxford University with the object of using that language for purposes of propagation. In 1698, a missionary clause was inserted in the Company's Charter requiring it to maintain schools in garrisons and 'factories' for education of Europeans and Anglo-Indian Christians. The clergymen were also expected to spread the Gospel among Hindu employees. The Charter also required every 500 Tonnage (or more) sailing from England to carry at least one clergyman on board. Thenceforth the company encouraged Charity Schools for which a grant-in-aid of 250 Pagodas each was provided. It is to be noted

that even in these early days, the Company placed emphasis more upon education than upon conversion, perhaps with the conviction that the latter would be a natural by-product of success in the former and perhaps with the belief that priority of conversion might estrange the native people.

An interesting feature of English enterprise was its *close co-operation with and dependence upon the Danes*. The Portuguese were Catholic. The French were not only Catholic, but also commercial and political rivals of the English. No question of co-operation with them could arise. The Danes had no imperial aspirations and were Protestants (as were the English). Hence, the company accepted the Danes as junior partners and utilised their services. The English efforts were directed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S. P. C. K.)

In 1706, Ziegenbalg and Plutschau, of German origin but connected with the Danish mission, arrived at Tranquebar. Under their leadership the missionaries started learning Tamil. Ziegenbalg started a Tamil Printing Press in 1713 and prepared a Tamil Grammar and a Tamil Version of the Bible. Charity Schools with Portuguese and Tamil as media were founded at Madras. A teacher-training school was established at Tranquebar in 1716. The death of Ziegenbalg in 1719 was a great loss to the missionaries. His work, however, was carried forward by his colleagues and successors Schultz, Sthuartz and Kiernander. Schultz (also a German employed by the S.P.C.K.) who began his Indian career in 1727 was instrumental in starting schools at Madras, Travancore, Tanjore, Cuddalore, Ramnad, Trichi, Bombay etc. He prepared a Telegu Grammar and a Telegu version of the Bible. Schuartz (also employed by S.P.C.K.) carried forward this work since 1760. Kiernander established a charity school at Port St David in 1712. Robert Clive invited him in 1758 to open a charity school in Calcutta. Actually Kiernander subsequently made Calcutta the arena of his activity. His work, however, was not limited to preaching and teaching. He was the contractor to construct the Alipore Hospitals (subsequently the Presidency General Hospital i.e., the present S.S.K.M. Hospital). Similar other charity institutions viz. St. Mary's (1715) at Madras, Cobbe (1719) at Bombay, Chaplain Bellarmey (1720, Calcutta) also developed. Society for the Promotion of Indians; (founded in 1731) did good pioneering work. The momentum created

thereby led subsequently to the foundation in 1789 of Lady Campbell Female Asylum (Madras), and Bale's Male Asylum etc.

The role of the E. I. Co. deserves special notice. The Company did not accept direct responsibility to provide education, but it encouraged the missionaries. Schools were maintained mostly by donations and charities. Chaplains maintained charity schools to which the Company extended benevolent protection. It sanctioned occasional Capital Grants for constructing and repairing school buildings, as well as recurring grants. It permitted public lotteries part of the proceeds of which were subscribed to school funds. The Company's employees were allowed to offer free-time voluntary services. It also kept deposits of missionary educational funds at a higher rate of interest than usual. (Of course it was not as benevolent as that. In those days the Company's exports could not pay for the imports. It required ready and liquid cash for investment in the market. They knew fully well that timely purchases of merchandise would fetch super profits to cover up the higher rate of interest. By accepting deposits, the Company ensured its own profitable trade simultaneously proving its educational benevolence). Although the missionaries and the company cooperated intimately, they maintained separate identities lest troubles of one should create troubles for the other.

Breach of Friendship

This co-operative relation did not last long. A new turn came with English victory at Plassey. Plassey did not immediately bring about British sovereignty in India, but laid the surest foundation for that inevitable development. The Company, therefore, began to measure every step. Majority of the people who Plassey and after were steadfast adherents to traditional religion and culture were not favourably disposed to the proselytising efforts of missionaries. Any wrong step might alienate the people and smash the dream of an empire. The French and the Dutch were always ready to take advantage of British predicament. The Company, therefore, began to adopt measures to guarantee that no overzeal of the missionaries (who now thought that a golden opportunity for them had arrived) might affect Indian sensitiveness in matters of religion, culture, education and customs.

This attitude was further crystallized after 1765. The acquisition of Diwani in that year vested administrative responsibilities in the Company. A definite administrative policy now required to be enunciated and pursued. With the object of winning over the "natives", the Company placed a check upon Diwani and after missionaries. It wanted to pose as the champion and preserver of Hindu and Muslim culture, education and traditions. The interest of the missionaries and company, thus, got apparently separated. And the Company never surrendered its political and commercial interest to the religious and educational interests of the Missions. Onwards from 1781, the separation gradually widened. In 1783, the Company ordered that no ship should carry a clergyman without valid license (100 years before such carrying had been made compulsory). In 1793, unlicensed clergymen were expelled. The attitude was further stiffened after the Vellore Mutiny of 1800 A.D. The breach developed into divorce. It became impossible for the missionaries to work freely. Thus ended the first round of missionary enterprise, the enterprise of Early Missionaries from late 16th Century to the end of 18th Century.

Characteristics and Estimate of Early Missionary Enterprise.

1. The missionary educational enterprise had started in and around trade-settlements (Kuthis or Factories, as they were called), Proprietary settlements and military garrisons. The Portuguese centres were Goa, Daman, Diu, Salsette, Bessein, Hooghly, Chittagong etc. The Dutch centres were Chinsurah, Hooghly etc. The French worked at Mahe, Karikal, Pondichery, Chandernagore etc. The important Danish centres were Tranquebar, Serampore etc. And English centres were distributed in South India and Bengal.

2. Schools were firstly established in Kuthis for European children with gradual provisions made for Eurasians. Converted Indians were then provided for. Gradually unconverted Indians in close commercial relationship with the Company were covered. In the final stage schools were started outside the Kuthis for the general masses. Evidently the extent and volume of missionary work widened by stages.

3. The objectives were to (i) ensure the observance of religious rites of the Company's employees ; (ii) to provide education of Europeans and Anglo Indians ; (iii) to propagate the Gospel among

Indians ; (iv) to secure converts ; (v) to build up the mental world of converts in a particular make up ; (iv) to develop mass contact and thereby extend influence among Indians. Sometimes proselytisation was followed by education and sometimes education was followed by proselytisation.

4. The types of institutions were—Parochial schools, Orphanages, Secondary schools, Teacher Training schools, clergymen's colleges etc.

5. In spite of field propaganda with various attractive devices, the 18th Century missionaries could not break through the conservative hard core of the upper society. Their converts were drawn mainly from the lower castes and poorer classes. Hence, primary education fit for these classes received the best attention of missionaries.

6. The missionaries found it advantageous to adopt the traditional indigenous type of elementary school best known to the masses of converts, of course with necessary modifications.

7. The propagation of the Gospel was best possible through the vernaculars. Hence, the missionaries themselves learnt the vernacular languages and adopted them as media of instruction for Christians and non-Christians alike.

8. The curriculum for primary education was not altered in a revolutionary way. With the 3 Rs. however, some lessons on the Gospel were added, together with some elements of modern knowledge.

Significance of Early Missionary Work

It must be admitted that in quantitative terms the 'early missionary' enterprise was nothing mighty. Yet it had very great historical significance. The missionaries partially filled the vacuum caused by the decline of 'traditional' education. Indian tradition of elementary mass education was continued by them. They did some pioneering work in a new venture of non-official enterprise depending mainly upon public charities. They introduced the printing press and mass circulating booklets, which, together with the widespread use of the vernaculars prepared the ground for mass education. By bringing out translations, dictionaries and grammars they helped the cause of language development. The missionary schools being open to all-comers they broke down educational caste barriers. Although

the curriculum was not basically altered, some improvements were made by the adoption of history, geography & general sciences. More than one teacher worked in a school. Time table, gradation of pupils, better school equipment and distinctive school regulations were further improvements. They were also pioneers in teacher education and a simple system of vocational education. The missionaries infused a new cultural element into our society.

The impact of the early missionary work upon our educational life was not as permanent as that of the work of 19th Century missionaries. The nature of missionary work in these two phases also differed from each other. The missionaries of the 17th and 18th centuries did not introduce "western education" in the accepted sense of the term. But they introduced some improvements and modern elements, as discussed above, which paved the way for the introduction of western education. They, thus, helped the transition of education from the mediaeval to the modern phase.

The Origin of Orientalism

As said earlier the Company's accession to Diwani completely turned the table. Political considerations now reigned supreme. The company's Supreme Council in India, under the leadership of Warren Hastings adopted a distinctive policy to increase British influence with the people and to find access to the masses for establishing a bond. They squarely opposed any hasty attempt to impart western knowledge. They rather decided to continue the tradition of Hindu and Muslim rulers' patronage to traditional learning with the object of instilling a confidence in the minds of the people. The Company adopted a policy of 'benevolent neutrality' in social, religious and cultural affairs with the object of wooing Indian opinion. Guided by this policy of religious neutrality the company refused to issue a blank cheque in favour of the missionaries. Moreover, the company wanted to educate the sons of aristocratic Indians with the twofold object of (i) being endeared with the traditionist leadership of this land and (ii) preparing personnel for judicial and revenue services, (The Judicial reforms of W. Hastings had created the posts of Hindu and Muslim law-interpreters in courts presided over by English Judges. These posts might be awarded to Pundits and Moulvis educated under the Company's care). A cultural opinion also

Policy of

Warren Hastings

strengthened the political motivation. Persons like Mr. William Jones, founder leader of the Asiatic Society (founded in 1784), opined that Indian culture was precious enough and ancient educational system was good enough. Hence no intervention was called for. (The origin of Indology was thus laid).

Impelled by these considerations W. Hastings established the Calcutta Madrasah in 1781 (the institution still exists) with Islamic Theory, Law, Logic, Grammar, Geometry and Arithmetic as curricular subjects and Arabic as language. Jonathon Duncan emulated this example to establish the Benares Sanskrit College (1791) with Hindu Theology, Law, Grammar Medicine etc. and Sanskrit as language. This was the early beginning of Orientalism which held sway from 1781 to 1791. The Directors of the Company accepted the the policy of Warren Hastings.

Origin of Occidentalism

But the time was fast changing and a parallel development of a rival policy became evident. The problem of medium of instruction was freely discussed at places where the missionaries had been more active. A choice from a list of Phiringbee, Portuguese, Tamil, Telugu and English was called for. Schultz established an English medium school for European children at Trichi in 1772. The English charity school founded at Tanjore in 1772 also adopted English. By 1785 English schools for Indians were established at Tanjore, Ramnad, Shiv Ganga etc. in co-operation with Swartz and at the instance of Mr. Sullivan, the Company's Resident at Tanjore, with English, Tamil, Hindustani, Accountancy and Christianity as curricular subjects. This rapid success inspired Mr. Sullivan to propose the acceptance of English as medium so that *"the Company and people will understand each other and facilitate dealings of all kinds."* Sullivan's observations were significant in as much as this was the early beginning of Occidentalism.

Charles Grant's Observations

The missionaries, now under fetters, inspired their compatriots in England to agitate against the Company's policy. Impelled by other considerations, persons of temporal society also took up the cause of the missionaries. Charles Grant was one such. In his

"Observations" he made out a case for Western education and freedom of missionaries.

In the opinion of Charles Grant, Indians suffered from extreme moral degradation caused by ignorance. That darkness was to be dispelled with the light of "knowledge". Moral regeneration could come through Christianity. And real knowledge meant the knowledge of English language and literature, arts, philosophy and sciences. Indians should know about the skilful application of fire, water and steam for improvement of agriculture. The adoption of English as administrative and judicial language and the provision of gratuitous schools for 'free' schooling under teachers of integrity (obviously the missionaries) would make students flock to them. It might be initially difficult to provide the necessary number of English teachers. But eventually Indians would teach English (already Portuguese and Bengali clerks had picked up that language). To reassure critics who feared that Western education for enlightenment might inspire rebelliousness in the Indian mind, Mr. Grant made funny arguments that Christian teaching would bring about submission and good order, and even Christianity could not overcome the debilitating climate of the east. Vegetable diet and absence of maritime activity would check any desire for independence. Christianity and Western education would rather bring about *understanding between the rulers and the ruled*. It would ultimately contribute to expansion of commerce. In the self interest of England it was her duty to introduce English education.

Grant's 'Observations' were a peculiar mixture of objective and wishful thinking. We must set aside Grant's *exparte* decree against Indian morals. Objective testimony of other Englishmen like Elphinstone, Munroe, Metcalfe disprove Grant's contention. Grant, however, may be forgiven in consideration of the fact that Indians best known to Englishmen of the time were moral degenerates and Indian renegades like Jagat Sett, Omichand and Mir Jafar in Bengal and their counterparts in the Deccan. There is also no denying that Indian morality with which Grant and his compatriots were acquainted was the decadent morality of a decomposing mediaeval society. And the super power of Christianity is not borne out even by the history of England,

In other respects, however, Grant had foreseen the subsequent developments viz. the advantage of adopting English as official language, and as the medium of instruction, the possibility of Indians becoming teachers of English and the eagerness of Indians to accept western knowledge. In all these respects he had anticipated Lord Macaulay.

The justification of Grant's plea should be sought elsewhere. England had already been experiencing the impact of her Industrial Revolution. The concept of an agrarian colony as a permanent appendage to England's economy had been dawning. End of "Plassey Plunder" and setting up a new pattern of administration in India had been accepted as a matter of principle. 'Mutual understanding' through 'Western education' and the agency of the 'converts' could satisfy England's "self interest". (Later history, however, proved that historical objectivity might demolish Grant's wishful thinking).

Wilberforce Motion

Grant and his missionary allies, however, created some impact upon the English mind. During renewal of the company's Charter in 1793, Mr. Wilberforce, an M. P. and a philanthropist friend of the missionaries moved a Parliamentary Bill demanding free access of teachers and preachers to India on the plea that it was the 'bounden duty of Englishmen to promote the happiness and interest of Indians by religious and moral improvement and the spread of useful knowledge'. This would ensure *mutual understanding between Indians and Englishmen*. (It should be noted that one theme common to the views of Sullivan, Grant and Wilberforce was 'mutual understanding between rulers and ruled through English language and education').

The British Parliament, however, *negatived the Wilberforce motion* on political and financial grounds. Parliamentary speeches raised the American analogy that education had endowed the Americans with a nationhood which caused the loss of England's American Empire. Moreover, those were the days of the highest tide of the French Revolution when England had to pass through days of crisis. Friends of the French were not lacking in India. English rulers were sensitive of the danger that might be created by any miscalculated intervention. Opinion of local administration in India also disfavoured any break with the past.

Financial impediments were no less important. Moreover, the Orientalists claimed that although education and learning in India was at a low ebb, fostering State care could retrieve ancient learning, thereby firmly winning the upper classes and castes.

This attitude was further strengthened by the Vellore Mutiny and the crisis precipitated by the Serampore Trio in 1807. The administration did unequivocally reassure the Indians that the Govt. had no intention to intervene in religious and cultural affairs of India. Governor General *Lord Minto* despatched a Minute in 1811 that Science and Literature had been in a progressive state of decay amongst Indians. Number of learned men had been diminishing and learned circles contracting. He suggested reforms of Calcutta Madrasah and Benaras College, establishment of 2 new Sanskrit Colleges and a few more Madrasahs at Jaunpur, Bhagalpore etc. with the object of preserving Hindu-Muslim learning in a high state. Evidently, the interest of ancient learning was still being fostered and financial patronage of the State prayed for.

CHAPTER II

CHARTER ACT OF 1813

A Prelude to Western Education

(Serampore Mission & Fort William College)

No sooner had Lord Minto despatched his minute than a shift in the attitude of the British Parliament became evident. These were days of rapid changes in Indian conditions and their reflections on British attitude causing quick shifts in policy from co-operation to non-cooperation and again to co-operation with the missionaries. New forces had been already operative in Indian life to create an urge for English education.

The gradual introduction of new type education may be traced back to the early years of the 18th century. A start had been made by Chaplain Bellarmy in 1720. In 1731 was established the Charity School (with S.P.C.K. patronage). Another charity school was brought into being in 1734. The Free School was Christened in 1742. Ultimately in 1795 it came to be rechristened as Old Charity School of Janbazar with funds from the Old Calcutta Charity School and the Free School Society. Kiernander founded his school at Mission Church Lane in 1758. Other important ventures were Hedges Girls' School (1760)—the first girls' school; Hodges School (1780); Griffith's Boarding School at Baithakhana (1780); Chitpore Boys' Boarding School (1784); Sherborne Academy (1784); Brown's Boarding School for Hindus was established in 1783. In quick succession 20 such schools were started, of which half a dozen were for girls. Ramjoy Datta's school at Kalootola (1791) was the first English School organized by a Bengalee gentleman. Then came Union School (1798); Mr. Archer's School (1798); Farrel Seminary (1799); Calcutta Academy (1800); Mr. Reid's School (1800) etc.

The socio-economic conditions created an urge for knowing English. Sri Ramlochan Ghosh of Pathuriaghata was the first English-knowing Bengalee. Many others followed suit and thereby caused the multiplication of institutions by private venture, most of them being profit making financial ventures. In short, by the end of the 18th

Century, various collective and individual efforts caused the foundation of new-type schools despite the company's luke-warm attitude. In the opening years of the 19th century, the London Missionary Society established schools at Chinsurah and Vishakhapatnam. The Wesleyan Mission established schools at Agra, Surat, Meerut, Calcutta, Tranquebar etc. In 1800 A. D. the Fort William College was established. On its staff worked men like Carey, Colebrooke, Gilchrist. The most important role was, however, played by the Serampore Trio—Carey, Ward, Marshman.

Serampore Trio

A few names of Englishmen remain memorable in the history of modern culture in Bengal and India. N. B. Halhed, Jonathon Duncan, N. B. Edmonstone, H. P. Forster, John Thomas were such memorable ones. William Carey also ranked with them and attained more pre-eminence.

Carey had worked in 1786 as an Honorary teacher in England. In 1789 he became a clergyman and in 1793 he came to India under the inspiration of John Thomas. He appointed Ram Ram Bose (who had previously served John Thomas) as his Munshi. Carey, a propagandist, passed three years (1793—96) in Maldah. The first European style school had been founded there by John Ellarton. The second such school was established by Carey. While Carey had been working at Maldah and Dinajpur under administrative impediments, Mr. Ward, an expert printer, Mr. Marshman, a teacher, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Bransdon joined hands in 1799 in establishing the Serampore Mission, at Serampore, a Danish settlement. Carey joined them and in no time became the leader of the group. The Serampore Press was founded in 1800 A.D. Ram Ram Bose joined them in 1801. The activities of the Mission spread in three directions. Under Ward's leadership the Serampore Press became instrumental in printing almost all the printed matter for a score of years.

Marshman became the initiator in educational endeavour. Carey became a first rate linguist, propagandist, author and man of letters. The three who worked together earned the epithet 'The Serampore Trio.'

As said earlier, the Trio established the Serampore Press in 1800 A. D. In 1801, Carey translated the New Testament into Bengali. Subsequently it was translated into 31 Indian languages. Carey's

Bengali Grammar came out that year. In 1801 was published the "Kathopakathan" (colloques). The Old Testament, the Krittivas Ramayan and Kashiram's Mahabharata were printed in 1802. In

1803, 1807 and 1809 came out parts of the Old Testament which were used as text books in Fort William College. His "Itihashmala" (1812) was a collection of 150 popular anecdotes. Mention must be made of Carey's Anglo-Bengali Dictionary in 4 Volumes with 80 thousand words prepared between 1815 and 1825 A.D. Translation of the Anatomy section of Encyclopaedia Britannica came out in 1820 as "Vidyaharavali". He also wrote in Marathi and Hindi Prose. Carey was also appointed Head of the Department of Oriental Languages at Fort William College.

Impelled by Christian faith and a liberal rationality the Trio brought out the propaganda booklet "Address to Hindoos and Mohammedans" in 1807. Some critical remarks about the religious rituals of Hindus and Muslims made in this publication infuriated the traditionalist leaders of both the communities.

Conflict with Company The Company's administration hastened to woo and reassure the conservative leaders by prohibiting the Trio's propaganda, ordering confiscation of the Press and even arrest of the Offenders. Danish intercession saved the 'accused' although restrictions were imposed upon their activities. The Court of Directors openly reaffirmed the policy of cultural and religious neutrality.

Undaunted by inhibitory measures, Carey and Marshman established the Calcutta Benevolent Institution in 1810. In the same year Marshman established a boarding school at Serampore. By 1812, at least 10 Missionary Orders were operating in India's educational field. By 1815, more than 20 schools were established by the Trio alone (majority of them, however, within 30 miles from Calcutta). By 1817, there were 115 schools. This momentum led to the foundation in 1818 of the Serampore College and encouraged the College to instruct Christian and non-Christian Indian youth in Western arts and sciences and to train teachers. This was the first English Missionary College in Bengal and was subsequently chartered in 1827 with the authority to award degrees. The privilege of awarding degrees in Divinity is still enjoyed by the college.

The Trio also successfully worked in the field of journalism. They

started the *Samachar Darpan* in 1818 which became a polemical journal together with "*Dig Darshan*", another journal conducted by the Serampore Mission. This initial success in journalism opened the floodgates for the publication of other journals in quick succession, some of which became mouthpieces of Indian opinion and thereby played a vital role in the socio-political evolution in the 19th century.

To William Carey goes the credit of rallying a band of literary men at Serampore. One of them, Pandit Joygopal Tarkalankar had been for 3 years a Pandit of Colebrooke. From 1805 to 1823 he served at Serampore and was from 1818 to 1823 in the editorial department of the '*Darpan*'. He was the real pillar of *Samachar Darpan* although the formal editor was J. C. Marshman. At Serampore he worked as a teacher in Mission School and from 1824 was for 23 subsequent years a teacher in Calcutta Sanskrit College. His literary contributions were '*Siksha-sar*' for boys (1818); '*Patrer Dhara*' for boys (1821); *Kavikankan Chandi* (1819); *Valmiki Ramayana* (1830-34); *Mahabharata* (1836); *Persian Dictionary* (1838) and *Bengali Dictionary* (1838). Most of the works of Carey and Joygopal were printed at Serampore Press. We must, therefore, unreservedly admit that the Serampore Trio immensely contributed towards the growth of Bengali language, literature, journalism and education and created a new atmosphere in the intellectual world.

Things in India had been changing by this time. Bengal Presidency had been firmly brought under British administration. Absolute supremacy in the Deccan was almost complete. Administrative reforms of Warren Hastings and Lord Cornwallis ushered in an era of settled socio-political life (with the exception of stray revolts here and there). A "baboo" society was fast developing in Calcutta. An Indian Commercial class as well as 'Banians' and Agents working in co-operation with the Company was reared up. Consequent upon the Permanent Settlement of 1793 a new class of landowning aristocracy very much dependant upon English patronage had already been brought into being. These were the days of the origination of "*Calcutta Culture*." In and around the Company's centres of commerce and administration, the traditional Varnasramik society was fast crumbling down. Caste-aristocracy was being fast replaced by monetary aristocracy. This new trend was furthered by the Fort William College.

New elements in
Indian society

Fort William College

The activities of the Serampore Trio had been closely connected with the Fort William College. In fact, Rev. Carey occupies a major part of the early history of the college. Evidently, a complete estimate of Carey is impossible without reference to the development of the Fort William College and its role in the 19th century cultural developments in Bengal.

Since the last part of the 18th century the authorities of the company had been feeling the necessity of training the civilians involving native customs, values, laws and above all the languages. Governor General Lord Wellesley opined that European knowledge would form the core of the training while the external form would be Indian. With this objective, the Fort William College was established in 1800 A.D. under the initiative of Lord Wellesley.

The close contact that immediately developed between Indian society and men on the one hand and the European administrators on the other frightened the authorities of the company. From 1806 the training was provided at the 'East India College' in England. Although the role of the Fort William College as a training institute was thus terminated, it continued to live till 1851 as a language institution for Europeans. The impact of the college upon languages, literature, culture and education was, therefore, tremendous.

From 1801 A.D. Pundits and Moulvis were appointed in the college. William Carey accepted an offer to head the Bengali Department. He recruited a band of very able persons like Mrityunjoy Vidyalankar, Kashinath Tarkapanchanan, Ramkrishna Tarkachuramoni, Mohan Prosad Thakur, Tarini Charan Mitra, Rajib Lochan Mukherjee, Hara Prosad Roy, Ram Ram Bose etc. Thus wrote Dewan Ramkamal Sen in 1834. "Study of Bengali language was made imperative on young officials. Persons versed in the language were invited by the Govt and employed. A number of books were supplied by the Serampore Press which set the example. College pundits produced many excellent works. Among them Mrityunjoy Vidyalankar, Head Pandit of the college was eminent."

Carey's 'Munshi' Ram Ram Bose authored many books, viz. "Raja Pratapaditya Charitra (1801), "Jnanodaya", "Lipimala" (1802) etc. Golaknath Sharma's Bengali translation of "Hitopadesha" came out in 1801. (Golaknath was not attached to Fort William College). Mrityunjoy Vidyalankar wrote "Vatrisha Simhasana", "Rajavali" and

"Prabodh Chandrika". Tarini Charan Mitra's "Aesop's Fables" (Oriental Fabulist") (1803), Rajib Lochan Mukherjee's "Maharaja Krishna Chandra Charit" (1805), Ram Kishore Tarkalankar's version of Hitopadesha (1808), Haraprasad Roy's "Purusha Pariksha" (published in 1815 for students of the College), Ram Chandra Vidyabagish's "Jyoti Samgraha" were important additions. Chandi Charan Mitra's "Tota Itihash (from Persian in 1805), Mohan Prasad Thakur's English-Bengali Vocabulary (1810) and English-Oriya Vocabulary (1811), Kashinath Tarkapanchanan's 'Padartha Koumudi' must also be mentioned.

Upto 1831 Dr. William Carey was at Fort William College. His genius helped to cover the wide field of creation by many scholars covering Bengali Grammar and Dictionary, writings in Sanskrit, Marathi, Oriya, Assamese, Panjabi, Karnat. The Bible in Bengali and other languages, Text Books and other books of interest including Agriculture, Geography, Botany, Zoology etc.

About Bengal and Bengalees Carey had written, "Bengal, seat of British Govt, centre of the commerce of the East, must be viewed as very important. Soil is fertile, population great : husbands, labourers and people in the lowest station, are often able to give that information on local affairs which every friend of science would be proud to obtain." About Bengali language he had written, "It may be esteemed as one of the most expressive and elegant languages of the East." "To Carey belongs the credit of having raised the language from its debased condition of an unsettled dialect to the character of a regular and permanent form of speech capable of becoming the refined and comprehensive vehicle of a great literature in the future", observes a critic.

Carey's personal evaluation of himself is interesting. He wrote, "If he (a critic) give me credit for being a ploddar, he will describe me justly. Anything beyond this will be too much. I can plod. I can persevere in definite pursuit. To this I owe everything."

The credit goes to the Serampore Trio as a whole. The work of Serampore and the Fort William College should be considered together. The beginning they made in language, literature and education affected the whole cultural life of Bengal and prepared the soil for a new type of education—Western education.

William Carey's contributions towards the development of Bengali Prose literature cannot be over estimated. The Trio had initiated

the publication of school and college text books. Most of the books used in the college were printed at Serampore.

The Fort William College had been established for the training of young officers of the Company. These young men had been reared up in the post French Revolution days and the atmosphere of the Industrial Revolution in England. They were imbibed with new ideas. The College had both Indians and Europeans on its teaching staff. Within the precincts of the College and outside it, two cultural elements interacted. The stage was set for the Bengal Renaissance (which we shall discuss later). On the whole, there were signs of a new mental horizon with readiness to accept Western education.

Factors in favour
of change of
policy

The light that emitted from the Fort William College led to the multiplication of private institutions. Arratoon Peter's school (1801), L. Schnabel's school (1802), Anandiram's school for Hindus (1802), Ramnarayan Mitra's school at Jorabagan, Khem Bose's school at Pathuriaghata, Nityananda Sen's school at Kalootola (1808) were a few of them. It is to be noted that many of the schools of this period were started by Indians. This tempo led to the establishment of the Hindu Vidyalaya in 1817.

Other factors had also changed very rapidly between 1793 and 1813 when the Company's Character was again to be renewed. British possessions in India were now consolidated and the new administration was effectively operative. The Maratha power was almost crushed. The danger of the 'Revolution' and of Napoleon was waning. The momentum of the new economy demanded the operation of its cultural counterpart. The supporters of both Western education and Eastern education had suggested state intervention. Hence the Parliament considered the question of education in India.

The Charter Act of 1813

The Parliament had to decide upon two controversial issues, (i) attitude towards the missionaries, and (ii) the nature and extent of the role of the State in education. The Parliament dictated its own solution by inserting clauses in the Charter. On the first issue, the missionaries won in as much as *they were permitted to preach and teach freely in India* again. On the second issue the Directors' opposition on grounds of finance and apprehension of Indian reaction had to be encountered. Yet, *clause 43 of the Charter* required the company to

spend a lakh of rupees every year for revival and improvement of literature, encouragement of the learned 'natives', and promotion of the knowledge of sciences.

The nature of the charter clauses should be clearly understood. The Parliament directed the company to provide regular financial grant for improvement of learning and encouragement of learned men, but did not specify the type of learning that was to be aided, nor the medium of instruction. *Obviously it was a compromise solution which was very soon proved brittle.* In fact the Parliament could not firmly make up its mind as it could 40 years later. Similarly the missionaries were allowed to work freely, but they were not given monopoly privileges or absolute agency. To balance the missionary enterprise, the Parliament required the company to step into the field of education. This was the origin of a secular trend and temporal intervention in education under the agency of the State.

In spite of limitations, the charter clauses were of great historical significance. (1) They brought to an end the agitation of Charles Grant and his allies. (2) The missionaries did not get monopoly agency. Yet their activities got a spurt. With an extensive organisation and ready resources they entered into a new round of activities. (3) The company did not accept the responsibility to provide education, but recognised its "duty" to do the same. (4) A system of educational grants was initiated. The specified amount would not meet a fraction of the needs, but obligatory spending from revenue resources was a turning point. Prior to 1813, the company had provided financial aids indirectly through the missionaries. But now the State directly entered into the field as a positive factor. (5) The state aid would, however, cover a fraction of the needs. The rest was left open to private enterprise (viz missionary enterprise). It was a sort of partnership between official and non-official enterprise which continues to this day. (6) The charter clause opened up a phase of controversies in regard to the type of education, the medium of instruction, the extent of state responsibility and the mode of educational administration. (7) Educational movement thenceforth became a movement for (a) extension of state responsibility and (b) determination of educational policy in the interest of greater and greater numbers of Indian people.

CHAPTER III

INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN EDUCATION

The Charter Act of 1813 was *basically a policy decision in respect of 3 things* that (i) missionary enterprise might be renewed with vigour, (ii) The Govt's duty was admitted (iii) State aid being meagre, the role of unofficial agencies was recognised. Educational developments in the subsequent years followed these broad tracks. Missionary enterprise in this period was undoubtedly the mightiest. We should start with an assessment of that.

Between 1813 and 1833 missionaries arrived from various western countries (mainly Protestant) and selected their respective spheres of influence. The General Baptist Missionary Society worked mainly in Orissa, the London Missionary Society in Bengal, the Church Missionary Society selected Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, the Wesleyan Mission preferred Trichinopoly and the Scotch Mission worked at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. After renewal of Charter in 1833, more missionaries came between 1833 and 1853. The important immigrants were Basel Mission Society, The Lutheran Society, Women's Association for Education of Females in the Orient (founded in Berlin), The American Baptist Union, The American Board and American Presbyterian Mission.

The most important role in Bengal was played by London Missionary Society, Church Missionary Society and Scottish Missionary Society. Under Rev. May's leadership, the London Society alone established 36 schools around Chinsurah, between 1810 and 1818. The Church Missionary Society founded 10 indigenous type schools around Burdwan, and in 1835 this Society conducted as many as 107 schools. The American Marathi Mission founded 2 schools in Bombay. The Wesleyan Mission established schools in Madras and Nagapattam while the Irish Mission was active in Gujrat. The Bishop's College in Bengal and Wilson College in Bombay were creations of this period. Gradually the whole of northern India felt the impact of missionary educational work.

Changed nature of missionary work

The nature of missionary work after 1813 was different from that before 1813. Prior to 1813, the missionaries had worked mainly in the

field of primary education through the modern Indian languages and proselytised where and when possible. After 1813, although they did not withdraw from primary education, their attention was gradually shifted to secondary and higher education. English was consciously adopted as medium. Bible reading was made compulsory in mission schools and conversion was particularly attended to. The clientele of such higher education became gradually limited to the middle and upper strata of society. The new type of education led to the establishment of new types of schools—the secondary schools. Women's education was a special field of missionary work.

Rev. May's Girls' School at Chinsurah (1818) initiated a movement for women's education. William Carey founded a girls' school at Serampore in the following year. In 1820, the Calcutta Female Jevvenile Society conducted 18 schools. Immediately after her arrival, Miss Cook established 8 schools in 1821 and 4 more in the following year. Together with the 3 Rs, history, geography and needle work were accepted as curricular subjects. Indirect Govt. patronage came through the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education formed in 1824. With a handsome donation of Rs 20,000 from Raja Vaidyanath, the Central School was established in 1826 by Mrs. Wilson (formerly Miss Cook). Teacher-training classes were also initiated.

Modern women's education was contemporaneously initiated at Madras and Bombay also. The first school in Madras was established in 1821 and by the middle of the century, the number rose to 7.

The first school in Bombay was founded in 1824, and in the next decade the number rose to 10. Girls' schools were established also at Benares, Mirzapore, Allahabad, Bareilly etc. in North Western Province (i.e. Uttar Pradesh).

Missionary enterprise was amply supported by the leaders of the Renaissance, particularly Raja Rammohan. The Young Bengal leaders extended whole hearted support. The momentum of the movement influenced even the traditionalists like Raja Radhakanta Dev. Schools were established in Howrah and Sibpore. Khulna, Backergunj and Chittagong did not lag behind. Rev. Adam in his report referred to the existence of girls' schools in Burdwan, Bankura, Birbhum, Krishnagore, Murshidabad. Girls' schools at Circular Road, Creek Row, Chitpore and Thanthania in Calcutta acquired fame. Depending upon wholesale Indian effort, schools were established at Uttarpara, Jessore, Barasat in Bengal and

Poona, Ahmedabad, Bombay and other places outside Bengal. Mahatma Phule was the pioneer in Poona. The 'Students' Scientific and Literary Society' in Bombay conducted 9 schools. Rao Bahadur Maganbhai Karamchand made a donation of Rs. 20,000. In Bengal, the Bethune School, initiated by Mr. Drinkwater Bethune was established in 1849. A strong foundation of women's education was thus laid even before 1853, and we must recognise our debt to the missionaries in this respect. Their contributions to the development of language and literature were previously discussed. In fact, our culture-pattern was immensely influenced by the remarkable contributions of the 19th Century missionaries in the fields of (i) Western education, (ii) Language and Literature, (iii) Women's education, and (iv) Pioneering efforts in Teacher-education.

Missionary policy in this period was vitally influenced by the leadership of Rev. Alexander Duff of the Scottish Mission. Duff's opinion was that full-fledged Western education and love for the Bible would ensure moral uplift of Indians. Hence, conversion of Indians of upper social strata should be a prime objective of the missionaries. And educational efforts should be concentrated in the upper sections of Indian Society. He established the General Assembly's Institution (Scottish Church College) in 1830. This venture was a great success which was envied even by spokesmen of the Govt. The Duff School which was subsequently established at Nimtallah ultimately merged with the Scottish Church College.

For all practical purposes, Alexander Duff led a full-fledged movement. He held that (i) the "Secular" schools of the Company were offensive, because ungodly education was no education; (ii) those schools were more expensive, (iii) with their experience, organisation and moral right, the missionaries alone were competent to cater education. Hence the state should provide financial assistance to the missions and withdraw itself from the field of education. Duff also condemned Lord Hardinge's proposal to select candidates for Govt employment by examination on the basis of the syllabus pursued in Govt schools, and demanded a prerogative of the missionaries in this field also.

However great the contributions of the Missions might have been, the above noted aggressiveness contained the roots of their ultimate failure. There is no denying that a small fraction of the upper-class Indians had embraced Christianity, but the majority of the middle

classes had not. Most of them would accept western education without Christianity. Thus a conflict developed between denominational western education and secular western education. The Company was more interested in winning over these middle class people of social importance. Hence a conflict arose between the Missionaries and the Govt.

Other Contributions

Awakening was not limited to Bengal alone. It affected, although unequally and in differently spaced periods, the other parts of India. Two illustrious names may be referred to in this connection. *Jagannath Sankarset* of Bombay upheld the cause of secular education, women's education, and Indian enterprise in modern education. But he never denied wholesale Westernisation, nor did he like English as a compulsory medium of instruction. Similarly, *Mahatma Phule* established girls' schools at Bombay and also schools for Harijan Children. His demand for mass education had sown the seeds of the future movement for compulsory primary education.

Non Official European enterprise (apart from missionary enterprise) was also not negligible. In many cases, non-official European enterprise and non-official Indian enterprise became complementary to each other. *The Bombay Education Society* (1815) took over the responsibility of conducting charity schools that had been established previously, and also founded new schools. "*Bombay Native Education Society*" (1822) initiated the establishment of English schools, the printing of Text books and the Training of Teachers. In 1848, Prof. Patton organised a "Students Literary and Scientific Society" which had *Dadabhai Naoroji* on its membership roll. In Madras also a School Society was formed. In N. W. Province an English school was founded at Benaras with an endowment from Joynarayan Ghosal (1818) and the Agra College with an endowment from Gangadhar Sastri.

Bengal, however, led the field. *David Hare* conducted a junior school. Rammohan had his Anglo-Hindu School. And above all the Hindu College was brought into existence.

There were other developments too. "*The Calcutta School Book Society*", formed in 1817, adopted the task of producing text books for students and distributing them. It was a very successful venture.

"The Calcutta School Society (1819)", formed with Indians and Europeans started establishing English and Bengali schools and also pedagogic schools. Within the span of a few years it earned the credit of conducting more than a hundred schools. In 1821 it had 115 schools. The Society supervised these schools, supplied text books for students and conducted examinations.

"The Renaissance"

The East India Co's educational policy after the Charter Act of 1813 was to a large extent influenced by that socio-cultural movement which came to be designated as the Renaissance.

When two cultures come in contact with each other, they must interact. If one of them is immensely mightier, there is every possibility of its overwhelming the other. But if they are comparable to each other, there is every possibility of adjustment, inter-polation and synthesis. The socio-cultural throbbing created by such interaction may infuse new characteristics into an ancient but moribund culture and thereby re-enliven it. Such a situation may be called a Renaissance. Such a new awakening in India started with Bengal, the centre of the then commerce and Govt of India, and the area most influenced by English language and culture. Hence it came to be termed as Bengal Renaissance.

Mediaevalism in our social life, including casteism and Purdah had functioned as stranglehold upon social development. The true spirit of Hinduism had been buried deep under heaps of mediaeval superstition and priestly mysticism. Scientific concepts which had been a feature of ancient Indian thought had made room for irrational fatalism and blind faith. The worth of the individual was denied by a feudal socio-economic order. The common man had no place in the political order. Creative literature was a matter of the past.

When such a corrupt and decadent political, economic and social order combined with religious superstition and social conservatism to sap the vitality of the society, when the world of culture and education had been in a static state leading to decomposition, we were awakened by a tremendous thrust under the impact of a new type administration under British rule, a commercial monetary economy, liberal socio-political ideas consequent upon the American war of Independence and the French Revolution which shook the foundation of our socio-economic life. A new ideology was born under the influence of Western

science, philosophy and political ideals. The changes that occurred in our religious, social and political thought and the consequent upheaval in our literary pursuits, in rational thinking, in reform movements and our value system came to be designated as Bengal Renaissance.

There were, no doubt, differences between the background and the causes of European Renaissance of the 15th century which ushered in the modern era in European life, and the Bengal Renaissance of the 19th century. But there were unmistakable similarities in features. In both of them, there was an urge to discover and reclaim ancient knowledge by a rational analysis of classical literature. Such an enquiry led, in both the cases, to religious reformation movements. As the European Renaissance had led to the birth of National languages and humanistic literature, so did the Bengal Renaissance lead to the development of Bengali language and literature simultaneously with the penetrating analysis of the classics. The recognition of the worth of the individual led to the concept of individual liberty and emancipation of women. Attachment to rationality and scientific knowledge had been a feature of the European Renaissance. The Bengal Renaissance also initiated a scientific attitude and the urge to accept the knowledge of science even if it came from the West and through the English medium. Urge for new education was a reflection of this ideology. In short, the replacement of an old value system by a new system was symptomatic of the renaissance.

There is no denying that a small number of new born middle class people were the torch bearers of this movement and were most benefited by the fruits of the movement. True it is that the Bengal Renaissance failed to reach the social roots and stir up the society as a whole. True also is the observation that the Bengal Renaissance failed to produce vital changes in the life of the common man or the social structure. This explains the controversy whether it can be termed a 'Renaissance'. The period has therefore been designated variously as "Jagaran", "Nava Janma", "Nayajug" etc. and not as a total national resurgence.

A solution of this tangle is not required for our present purpose. We may, in short, point out the characteristics of this age, viz.—(i) rational analysis of religion, (ii) new trends in literature, (iii) Humanism and love for freedom, (iv) opposition to unpurposive classicism, (v) attachment to freedom of opinion, including freedom of the Press, (vi) understanding of the value of Western education and its

culture-values, (vii) urge for social reform, (viii) early signs of nationalism, (ix) hope for a better future etc.

The sober leaders of the movement neither totally abandoned the oriental glories of the past, nor rejected the new wave from the West. A happy synthesis between the best of the East and the best of the West was their objective. It was a century-long movement developing in a few phases with distinctive peculiarities of each phase. The first phase was led by Raja Rammohan Roy.

Raja Rammohan Roy

Well versed in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Bengali, English and other languages, the Raja was also well versed in Hindu, Jain, Buddhist and Christian theology. Free from mediaeval superstition, he propagated Upanishadic monotheism, simultaneously criticising the aggressive narrowness of the Christian missionaries. He took upon himself the task of making the East and the West known to each other. He was ready to accept the best from the Occident, but at the same time was intent on retaining the best of the Orient. While ready to accept Western learning, he was ready to cull the best of Vedantic learning. He accepted English as a language of education, but came also to be known as the father of modern Bengali prose. Voltaire, Euclid, Astronomy and Mechanics found place in the syllabus of his Anglo-Hindu school established by him in 1822 for the education of Bengali Hindus. David Hare, Rev. Adam helped it. Debendranath Tagore was a student of this school. His Vedantic College (1825) offered lessons in Hindu Philosophy and literature together with English and Science. Rammohan helped the Serampore Trio, Rev. Adam and even the aggressive Duff in establishing schools. His voluntary effort was extended towards the setting up of girls' schools. He was one of the well wishers of the Hindu School founded in 1817. And when a proposal was mooted in 1823 to establish a Sanskrit College in Calcutta, Rammohan and his friends submitted a memorandum to Lord Amherst demanding public expenditure for useful western knowledge. This outright demand from the progressive section of enlightened Indians supplied the fuse to the heat-generating Oriental—Occidental controversy. Rammohan had the courage to say that even Nyaya was of little value. The memorandum said, "The Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness." It demanded "a liberal and enlightened

system of instruction embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Anatomy with other useful subjects." Rammohan's desire was "effective knowledge" which he had been trying to cater through his Anglo-Hindu school.

The success of the Hindu College might have inspired Rammohan to demand modern western education, although he had not himself been admitted into the Board of Governors of that institution. The G.C.P.I. which was dominated by orientalisists lashed out at him and out-right rejected a plea from "an Indian who had been cast out from his own society" for his rebellious thoughts and deeds.

But the time had been fast changing. The company's court of Directors had its well calculated designs. In 1824 it was written to the local authorities in India that the "great end" should be "not Hindu learning, but useful learning." About Hindu and Islamic literature the Board wrote, "You bound yourself to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned." It is to be noted, however, that although the views of Rammohan and the Court of Directors were similar to each other in respect of the desired subjects of study, the objectives were different as we shall discuss later.

Historians of different views have, in course of the last 15 years, developed a controversy about the real value of Rammohan's work and his place in history as a pioneer in various fields. The long standing concept that the idea of the Hindu College was first mooted at an Atmiya Sabha meeting at Rammohan's house and David Hare was one of the initiators has been seriously challenged. This much however is clear that Rammohan was kept out of the Governing Body of the college and David Hare joined it in 1819. There is no denying, however, that Rammohan Roy had been all out in sympathy for the college and helped it in various ways.

Rammohan's contributions to other aspects of social and literary life were highly valuable. True it is that Mrityunjay Vidyalankar, Ram Ram Bose, Rajiblochan, Carey etc had preceded him in the field of Bengali prose literature, yet it must be admitted that Rammohan contributed a style and standard which facilitated the development of Bengali Prose as a vehicle of stories, novels as well as polemical literature.

It is well known that he was in favour of widow remarriage, although he had his misgivings about the society's acceptance or reaction. Similarly he had been the foremost propagandist for abolition of Suttee although he had his misgivings about law-making and legal processes. Ram Jhan was eloquent on the beneficial aspects of British rule, even the part played by Indigo farmers in raising the standard of living of the peasant, yet it was he who stood for freedom of the Press, criticised the Govt's measures in regard to the Jury system, and in 1831 represented the case of India to the Parliamentary Select Committee, against many of the wrongs done by the Permanent Settlement. His *An Appeal to the Christian Public* (1820), the papers conducted by him—"The Brahmanical Magazine" (English, 1821), "Sambad Kaumudi" (Bengali 1821), "Meerut-ul-Akbar" (Persian, 1822) sought to establish rationality in thought and social action. As a humanist, Rammohan upheld the cause of human liberty everywhere in the world.

Many of the intellectual and social trends which were furthered by Rammohan Roy had been gradually developing even before the days of Rammohan. But his vitality and undaunted spirit brought the matter up to the surface, expedited the movement of the New Age and created a social upheaval with far-reaching consequences. He propagated a rational analysis of religion, understood the cultural values of Western Sciences and Literature and the need for western education, opposed useless expenditure on non-utilitarian classicism, preached Humanism and love of freedom, upheld the freedom of the Press, protested against the baneful aspects of British administration. These were characteristics which characterised the Bengal Renaissance. He was not the sole creator of the New Age. But he was a great representative and exponent of that age and showed the way which might lead to the birth and growth of a modern India. It was not for nothing that he was called "Bharat Pathik".

It is to be remembered that in his memorandum to Lord Amherst he demanded Western Knowledge, but did not demand English as a sole medium of that knowledge. He upheld the cause of a rational study of the classics. His basic objective was modernisation of India under the influence of Modern Sciences and the discovery and firm establishment of India's own "self" by a synthesis between old and new. Excepting the conflict on the question of religious dogma and practices, and some aspects of the nature and methods of social

reform, the conservative leaders and Rammohan Roy might stand on the same platform, particularly in respect of education (of course with some differences). The development of the Hindu College may be considered in this connection.

The Hindu College

The leading personalities in Bengal, both Englishmen and Indians, sensed the Indian readiness to accept Western Education as also their apprehension in regard to the objectives and activities of the missionaries in the field of education. The urge for non-Christian western education was apparent. This urge was not limited to the pronounced Anglicists, but was equally strong among the so called traditionalists.

The outcome was the Hindu Vidyalaya (1817) with the object of providing 'good education' to the sons of Hindu gentlemen. The College imparted lessons in English (both language and literature), the Sciences, History, Philosophy etc. The Hindu School had three distinctive elements of identity—(i) The Governing body was formed with Europeans and Indians alike on the same footing, (ii) the instruction imparted in the higher classes was at collegiate level, (iii) Secular instruction was adhered to. The college had to face a two-pronged opposition from (i) the extreme conservatives, in as much as the Oriental Classics were not given special privilege, and (ii) Missionaries, because of its secular instruction. Yet, the College became a model for secular modern institutions of western learning conducted by private enterprise. (In 1854, the Vidyalaya was renamed Presidency College). The popularity of this institution influenced the Govt's subsequent decision in regard to nature, type and medium of education.

Respectable Bengalee gentlemen of the time made their desire for a secular and modern institution known to the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Edward Hyde East. At a meeting in his house attended by Indians, including Pundits, it was decided to establish a school. A committee was formed with 20 Indians and 10 Europeans, and financial contributions were raised. (David Hare was not a member of the first Governing Body and Ram Mohan Roy was not included in deference to an objection raised by conservative Hindus because of his religious "heresy." (It is, however, said that Ram Mohan personally stepped aside with the intention of seeing the

institution established). Muslims, till then, avoided Western Education. Naturally Hindus contributed to and governed the institution created for good education of the 'sons of Hindu gentlemen.' This explains the nomenclature 'Hindu' college.

This was the first of a kind of national institutions non-officially founded, maintained and governed. The Hindu college, established on 10th January, 1817, offered courses in Persian, Sanskrit, Bengali, Geography, Mathematics, apart from English language and literature. The first principal was Isaac de Anselme. It provided 'free' education for a son or nominee of a gentleman against a lump donation of Rs. 5000/-. A fund of Rs. 1,25,000/- was thus created out of which an amount of Rs. 21,000/- was deposited with Joseph Barreta Co. and interest drawn therefrom. The Calcutta School Society sent annually 20 to 30 selected students and paid their tuition fees of Rs. 5/- p.m. David Hare was appointed superintendent on behalf of the Society in 1819. This was his first formal association with the institution.

The Board of Governors included respectable Hindus, including Radhakanta Dev and Ramkamal Sen. Lt. Francis Irvin served as European Secretary and Vaidyanath Mukherjee as Native-Secretary. Ramkamal Sen became the administrative officer. Hindus, both rich and poor were admitted, the non-affluent ones coming from the School Society and Hare's Pataldanga School (subsequently christened as Hare School).

For the first 7 years the school did not receive any aid from the Govt. But things changed when the British India Society of England sent some scientific books and equipment for the Hindu College. Govt. aid for an English School established by Indians first came through the G.C.P.I. in the form of expenses for a teacher of science. In exchange for this help, the college had to accept a nominee of the G. C. P. I. on its governing body. Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson, the then secretary of the Public Instruction Committee, was the nominee and was made the 'Visitor'.

The school, also known as Anglo-Indian College, had been first housed in a rented house at Bowbazar. In 1825 it was shifted to the newly constructed Sanskrit college building. In the meantime, the college again fell into a financial crisis due to the failure of the Barreta Co. Fee-paying admission increased. The G. C. P. I. came forward with more help in return for more control. The college was saved although the Governors' powers were curtailed. David Hare

was made a Governor in 1825. In the same year Kashikanta Ghosal and Vaidyanath Roy made a donation of Rs. 10,000, which the Govt. handed over to the G. C. P. I. It was decided to spend the interest in giving scholarships to good students for subsequent higher studies. (This was the indirect beginning of Post Graduate studies). The G. C. P. I. thus became a partner in Western Education. A conflict of policies in the shape of the language controversy lay inevitably in the nature of things.

Dr. H. H. Wilson, with the help of Mr. David Hare reshaped the college. Previously it had 10 classes. For the four higher classes there were teachers, whereas Monitors served in the six lower classes. 13 classes were now organised, the four higher classes forming the Senior Department, and the rest forming the Junior Department. College hours were increased from 5 to 7 hours. Terminal and Annual examinations were introduced. New teachers replaced the monitors. H. L. V. Derozio was appointed 4th teacher in 1826. Governors Radhakanta Dev and Ramkamal Sen actively helped these measures.

Some of the students showed eminence, particularly in their knowledge of English. They included Prasanta Kumar Tagore, Chandrasekhar Dev, Kashiprosad Ghosh, Tarachand Chakraborti, Shiv Chandra Tagore etc. Brilliant students of Derozio included Pyarichand Mitra, Radhanath Sikdar, Ram Gopal Ghosh, Ramtanu Lahiry, Harachandra Ghosh, Rashik Krishna Mullick etc. The roll strength, originally 70/75 (including Society's nominees) shot up to 100 in 1827-28. There were three categories of students viz. society's nominees, 'free' students, fee-paying students (including students from Hare's school, Ram Mohan's school, Parental Academy etc.) The college, thus, became a representative institution of the Hindu society.

In 1829, Credit Performance in the examination was shown by about 25 boys including Tarini Charan Mukherjee, Raj Krishna Mitra, Digambar Mitra, Amritlal Mitra together with Ramtanu, Ramgopal, Shivechandra, Radhanath, Harachandra, Rashikkrishna and Krishna Monan Banerjee. The students nominated by the society had also to appear at the society's examination. Adam's first report said, "The society's scholars are said to rank among the highest ornaments of the college." The 5th Report (1829) on the activities of the college said, "Many of these young gentlemen appear properly to appreciate the value of knowledge and are endeavouring to improve themselves as much as possible. They have formed societies among their friends, at

some of which they debate and read essays of their own composition on literary subjects and at others read and study English books and translate into Bengali."

But, once the intellectual vista had been opened up, a momentum caused the youth to cross the bounds that had been sought to be maintained by the founders of the college. The crisis was precipitated by the Derozio affair which shows the socio-intellectual cross-currents of the time and how social forces outside school acted upon the institution and vice versa.

After the Derozio affair (which we discuss next) and the tight restrictions placed upon the students, the centre of gravity of socio-intellectual conflicts shifted out of the college and found expression in the conflict between the Young Bengal and the conservatives affecting all aspects of social life. The Hindu College was, however, placed on an even keel and it continued to serve as an institution for secular higher studies.

Henry Louis Vivian Derozio

Derozio, a student of David Drummond's illustrious Dharmatila School was a rationalist and humanist having been instructed in a school which taught Hindu and Firinghee boys together. Trained by an idealist teacher like Mr. Drummond he acquired love for literature (particularly poetry) and Philosophy. He acquired an excellent teaching skill mixed with love of students. It was but natural that such a young teacher would attract brilliant students. English was his mother tongue, but he loudly acclaimed India as his mother land. Harakumar Tagore, De Souza, William Krikpatrick were his co-students. With profound knowledge of English, Philosophy, Latin and History, he completed his school education at 14 years in 1821, was appointed 4th teacher in Hindu College in 1826, and served there for 5 yrs (upto 1831).

As fourth teacher, Derozio taught English and History. But he was knowledge and teaching personified. His personality, modesty, fidelity and attachment to truth attracted students not only of his 4th class, but also of higher classes. Hence he had to teach out of class. The character of the boys developed through Derozio's love of truth. Heramohan Chatterjee (a non teaching employee of the Hindu college) observes, " 'The College Boy' was a synonym for truth..... such a boy is incapable of falsehood because he is a 'college boy.'"

Pyarichand Mitra observes, "Of all the teachers Mr. H. L. V. Derozio gave the greatest impetus to free discussion on all subjects—social, moral and religious."

Derozio held discussions on various subjects and topics with the students. Some study circles thereby came into being. Some of the students visited Derozio's house to resolve doubts. This was the origin of the Academic Association, the first debating society with Derozio as President, Umacharan Bose as Secretary and David Hare as Visitor. Among others who attended the sessions were Dr. William Rodge Mill, Principal of the Bishop's College, Supreme Court Judge Sir Edward Rayer etc. The student-members read out their own compositions or delivered extempore speeches. Krishnadas Paul observes, "What the Oxford or Cambridge Clubs are to those universities, the Academic Association was to the Old Hindu College. As the greatest senators and statesmen of England cultivate oratory in those clubs, so did the first alumni of the Hindu College, who have in after life so eminently distinguished themselves, cultivated their debating powers in the Association."

The range of topics was wide and included religion and society, literature and history, atheism, agnosticism, idolatry, rites and rituals, customs, humanism and patriotism, education (including female education) etc. The members were critical not only of Hindu religion, rites and rituals, but also of Christian preachings and practices of clergymen.

The Academic Association served as a model for separate associations formed by other students of Hindu School, students of Pataldanga School and Rammohan's Anglo-Hindu School. Derozio had links with all of them although he was president only of the Academic Association. By the end of 1828 there were as many as 7 organised clubs with membership strength ranging between 17 and 50. They had weekly or fortnightly meetings and held even political discussions, of course through the medium of English. This had impact upon others. Some Bengali associations were also formed. The Academic Association used the Pataldanga school hall for bigger gatherings.

Social issues like suttee or women's education were now freely discussed. In 1830, the student members of the Academic Association brought out a paper—"The Parthenon." In its first issue such vital issues as women's education and permanent settlement of Europeans

in India were discussed. Comments were made on corruption. This was the first English paper edited and conducted by Indians. But its first issue created such a row in the Hindu gentry that it was immediately gagged by Dr. Wilson. The first issue was its last issue.

Resistance of the traditionalists now got organized. They came out in open opposition when Rammohan Roy, at a meeting in the Town Hall, advocated permanent habitation of Europeans in India. The question of the social conduct of young men, particularly their anarchic behaviour and addiction to liquor became an issue. Dr. Wilson issued a circular in 1830 that, "The teachers are particularly enjoined to abstain from any communication on the subject of the Hindu religion with the boys, or to suffer any practices inconsistent with the Hindu notion of propriety such as eating and drinking in the school or class rooms. Any deviation from this injunction will be reported by Mr. D. Anselme to the visitor immediately and should it appear that the teacher is at all culpable, he will forthwith be dismissed." Evidently it was an indirect warning to Derozio.

But things did not stop. While Rammohan's movement was idealistic and intellectual, the Derozians became practical. The practical aspects of the movement estranged the conservatives most. Things were made worse by some missionaries. Alexander Duff established his General Assembly's Institution and introduced compulsory lessons in the Bible which Rammohan Roy supported, and the traditionalists severely opposed. Duff delivered a series of lectures where students of the Hindu College flocked in numbers. The Hindu College Governors issued a circular in 1830 that, "The management of the Anglo-Indian College having heard that several of the students are in the habit of attending societies at which political or religious discussions are held, think it necessary to announce their strong disapprobation of the practice and to prohibit its continuance. Any student being present at such a society after the promulgation of this order will incur their serious displeasure."

Thus the conflict between the Old and the New became acute on the questions of religion, customs, food and drink, rituals etc. Some of the boys were turned out of home, some others were chastised and penalised. 25 students had out-right to discontinue studies and 165 discontinued school attendance. The Governors of the Hindu College had to take the offensive.

They held a fateful meeting of the Governing Body in 1831 which

was attended by Dr. Wilson, Chandra Kumar Tagore, Radhamadhab Banerjee, Radhakanta Dev, Ram Kamal Sen, David Hare, Rashomoy Dutta, Prosanna Kumar Tagore, Sree Krishna Sinha, Luxminarayan Mukherjee. They discussed a detailed memorandum submitted by Ram Kamal Sen.

The decisions included (i) dismissal of Derozio, (ii) expulsion of offending boys, (iii) expulsion of antagonists to Hindu faith and customs, (iv) restricted admission, (v) vesting of more powers in the Head Master, (vi) recruitment of European teachers after enquiry into their antecedents, (vii) ban on societies and meetings, (viii) control of text books, (ix) emphasis upon Classics. In spite of divided opinions about the role of Derozio, the committee dismissed him unilaterally. A counter offensive of traditionalism temporarily came out victorious. Derozio submitted his resignation on 22th April, 1831 and died only eight months later. Thus ended a stormy phase in the history of Hindu College as well as the history of modern society and education in Bengal and India.

The Young Bengal

The movement for modernisation, so far as the leadership of Rammohan Roy was concerned, was a movement for reform and not for revolution. Even his Atmiya Sabha and Brahmo Sabha were not rebellious in character. Rammohan did not want to continue ancient traditions and mediaeval values just as he did not want any servile imitation of the west. What he stood for was a happy synthesis of the cultures and values of the West and the East. But once the movement had started and multiple questions were raised, there were multiple reactions—negative or positive, conservative, extremist or moderate. The conflict found expression in every sphere—religious, social, cultural and educational.

The extremist movement was represented by the Young Derozians, otherwise known as Young Bengal. Derozio loved his motherland and wanted her regain the glory that once she had. Hence he led a relentless fight against intellectual sterility and infused the same spirit into his followers. Under pressure of circumstances H. L. V. Derozio had to take an extreme stand. Persecution of Derozio perpetrated by the leaders of the Hindu society led his followers to fight back with their backs on the wall, and to take a stand, in the name of rationality, in a manner that might not always be objectively rational.

They stood for complete rejection of tradition and superstition and complete acceptance of Occidentalism. Some of them also embraced Christianity.

The Young Bengal reflected the influences of the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution and the American War of Independence. As said earlier, their organ, 'The Parthenon' (1830) was proscribed. The administration joined the traditionalists in stifling the Parthenon, because this paper had for the first time voiced Indian opposition to Imperialist misrule. From 1830 to 1835 the Young Bengal agitated for Trial by Jury, Indianisation of administration, freedom of the Press, and opposed the naked form of exploitation and the exportation of indentured Indian labour. In spite of their fascination for western learning and English language, they demanded the spread of modern scientific knowledge through the vernaculars. Their urge for new knowledge was propagated through their papers 'The Enquirer' (English) founded by Krishnamohan Banerjee immediately after the dismissal of Derozio from the Hindu College, and the 'Jnananvesan' (Bengali). The Young Bengal protested against the defects and short comings of the Charter Act of 1833. They established the "Academic Association" (referred to earlier) and "Sarvatattva Dipika Sabha" (1833). Their role in the foundation of the Calcutta Public Library (1835) was remarkable. 'Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge' (1838) and the "Mechanical Institute" (1839) were also their creations. Their urge for the social emancipation and education of women was exemplary. It was one of their members, Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee, that donated the land of the Bethune School.

The Young Bengal, a rebel child isolated from the main stream of social life, had limitations in quantitative contributions to education of the time. Apparently it stood for wholesale acceptance of western education. Yet its movements let loose social forces which tremendously influenced subsequent development of education in India, and new educational ideals. This group of rebels included Krishna Mohan Banerjee, Tarachand Chakraborti, Ramtanu Lahiri, Rampogal Ghosh (known as Demosthenes of Bengal for his brilliant oratory), Rajnarayan Bose, Rashik Krishna Mullick, Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee (Donor of land for Bethune School), Michael Madhusudan Datta etc. All of them were brilliant scholars and all of them excelled in different fields of social life. Some of them were Brahmos and some others embraced Christianity and demonstratively practised a

western way of life which had a havoc-making effect upon the traditionalists, particularly the Pandits.

Apart from social questions, they raised their voice against different aspects of foreign rule. They led the anti-slavery movement and were the mainstay of the Bengal British India Society and subsequently the British India Society. They led the agitation against special privileges of foreigners. The seed of an organised agitational movement imbued with early national consciousness was their contribution.

The Young Bengal had its limitations. It was a typical movement of the middle class intelligentsia which failed to reach or stir up the people. The small group isolated from the society at large and branded as rebels was short lived. Yet, the brilliant light emitted by it showed the road to the future. And the east generated by their movement caused the iron-caste system to melt. Under their impact and in spite of antagonism the conservative also gradually melted their ways. By the middle of the 19th Century, the Young Bengal became more realistic and the conservatives became more liberal and moderate. Another phase of the Renaissance characterised by synthesis ushered in, and was led by Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and his compatriots.

The Conservatives

The conservative opposition to Rammohan and the Young Bengal was led by Raja Radhakanta Dev, Ramkamal Sen, Mrityunjay Vidyalankar, Bhowani Charan Banerjee etc.

Mrityunjay Vidyalankar, as we said earlier, was a Sanskrit teacher at Fort William College and had authored many books. By 1817, he conducted his own Chaturpathi at Baghbazar. On the other hand he was a member of the Preparatory Committee of Hindu College. He was also a member of the Managing Committee of Calcutta School Book Society (1817).

Bhowani Charan Bandyopadhyay was a luminary of this period. The work for new education which had been started by some officers of the Company and some Missionaries at Chinsura, Serampore, Burdwan and Malda aided by Pandits of the Fort William College was carried forward independently by Rammohan and Radhakanta Dev after 1815. Bhowani Charan helped Radhakanta in all his activities for the spread of modern education. But he was intellectually a traditionalist and by practice conservative. He was

a leading spirit of the Dharma Sabha (1830) formed as a counterpoise to Rammohan's Brahmo Sabha.

Radhakanta Dev, the seion of the Hindu Society, led the crusade together with Ramkamal Sen as his lieutenant. They ostracised Rammohan as a heretic and socio-religious rebel. They did not allow Rammohan on the Governing Body of the Hindu College and would not accept even donations from him. They chastised the rebel students of the college and dismissed Dorozio, the memorandum having been placed by Ramkamal Sen himself. They hailed the establishment of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, whole heartedly supported the G. C. P. L.'s policy of encouraging oriental classical learning, opposed the Sutees Act, Widow Remarriage Act etc.

They harboured no doubt as to the depth of Rammohan's learning. But they were mortally opposed to Rammohan's Brahmo movement, the Christianising education provided by the Missionaries, the Young Bengal's aggressiveness, the allurements and the anarchic life of the misguided youth and their drinking habits etc.

They were, however, eager to accept western learning within the framework of Hindu traditions and social value system together with an intensive study of the Classics, of course free from the influences of Rammohan and the like. Radhakanta Dev wrote a few valuable treatises in Sanskrit. At the same time he (together with Ramkamal and others) was an initiator and Governor of the Hindu College. Radhakanta was a Governor of the School Book Society also. They established schools other than the Hindu College. They even tried to provide education of the girls. Thus, the conservatives also, in their own way, helped the cause of modern western education (although within a traditional shell).

The total effect of these multiple movements caused the establishment of more schools between 1817 and 1835. A few of them may be referred to, viz Mackey's School at Nimtala (1820), Lindal and Arvey's Seminary (1821), Indian Academy at Suripara (by Rammohan, 1822), W. Ricketts Parental Academy (subsequently Doveton's College, 1823), Grammar School (Offshoot of Parental Academy, 1823), Madhu Sudan Chakraborti's Academy at Maniktala (1825), Church Missionary School (for poor Hindus, 1829), Govinda Basak's School and Joynarayan Master's School at Nimtala (both in 1830), Calcutta High School (1830), Duff's General Assembly's Institution (1830),

Nabin Madhab Dey's free school (1831), St. X'vier's College (1834), Calcutta Medical College (1834-35).

There were other institutions founded during this period, viz Calcutta School Book Society and School Society, as referred to earlier; Sobhabazar Benevolent Society patronised by Maharaja Kamal Krishna Dev (1833-34); and the various associations founded by the Derozians.

The total effect of this movement caused a situation when the G.C.P.I. had to review its activities and to adopt a definite policy about the type of education and its medium to be patronised by the Govt.

Special note should be taken of the following :—

(A) There is hardly any other case than David Hare's where a foreign gentleman who had established a profitable clock trade gave up everything for modern education of Indians. *David Hare* supported liberty of the Press and trial by Jury. He also favoured the acceptance of English in place of Persian as state language. He believed that English literature would regenerate the Hindu Society. But he showed no great regard for the Sciences and showed rather a contempt for Sanskrit. As said earlier, he was a friend and partner of Rammohan in the latter's efforts to introduce modern scientific education. As Governor of Hindu College he devoted his time and energy for improvement of the school. Hare was also a leading light of the Calcutta School Society which established English and Bengali schools as well as teacher training institution. The Society supervised them, supplied books, and examined the pupils. By 1821 there were as many as 115 Bengali schools under the society. Hare had his own Pathshala and the Pataldanga School which was renamed as Hare School. His educational endeavour also reached the field of primary education through the Calcutta School Book Society. On the other hand, he was greatly interested in the setting up of a Medical College at Calcutta.

(B) *J. E. D. Bethune* favoured secular schools for girls and compulsory instruction in Bengali (English might be an option). He was amply assisted by Pandit Madan Mohan Tarkalankar and Young Derozians Ram Gopal Ghosh and Dakshina Ranjan Mukherjee in establishing the Bethune School for Girls.

(C) *Jagannath Sankarset* (1803-1865) supported secular education. He felt the need for private Indian enterprise, but never believed in

exclusive westernisation and strongly opposed English as compulsory medium of instruction,

(D) *Mahatma Phule* (1828-70) was the first Hindu to open a girls' school in Bombay. (His wife was trained up as an assistant). He was also the first Hindu to start a school for Harijans. His greatest contribution was advocacy for mass education to the extent of compulsion.

(G) *Alexander Duff*, the most active educational entrepreneur amongst the missionaries in the second quarter of the 19th Century established the tradition of Collegiate education of a high standard. It is evident from official records that the success of his College in contrast to the sterility of the efforts of the G. C. P. I. had supplied energy to the Anglicists in that body.

Official Policy

Consequent upon the Charter of 1813, the first recorded Educational Despatch was received in India in 1814. The local authorities were directed to encourage "learned natives" and to promote knowledge of the sciences. But nothing more was actually thought of than the bestowal of marks of honour. Even in 1815, Lord Moira's minute simply stated in ambiguous terms, "The sum will be spent in improving schools." Thus there was total absence of any clarity of idea and practical policy. One idea was, however, there that something ought to be done in the interest of the Empire itself, as is clear from Charles Metcalfe's observation—"The more blessing we confer on them, the better hold we shall have on their affection, and in consequence the greater strength and duration to our Empire". But the Govt's attention being concentrated upon the Maratha affairs till the last part of the second decade of the century, nothing concrete of importance was done till 1823 in which year the "General Committee of Public instruction" (G.C.P.I.) was formed and in 1824, the Directors wrote, "for improvement of education we are willing to make considerable sacrifices."

For a decade from 1823, the G.C.P.I. did some work in pursuance of a policy which it thought best. It reorganised the Calcutta Madrasah and the Benares College. The Calcutta Sanskrit College was founded in 1824. Oriental Colleges were established at Agra and Delhi. The Hooghly College was founded. It encouraged and directly

did the work of printing and publishing Sanskrit and Arabic books. Translated Oriental editions of selected English books were brought out. English professors of law, medicine, literature etc. were appointed in Oriental Colleges.

But the first frontal attack upon the policy was led by Rammohan Roy when he petitioned the Govt for aid to Western education. Then came the Directors' attack when in 1824 they questioned if the expenditure for oriental learning was worth while. It may be noted that an educational movement was contemporaneously swaying England. And the new type officials of the 19th Century, unlike their predecessors were wedded to new ideas which supplied energy to occidentalism. Lastly, the Charter of 1833 opened up the scope of Govt. employment to educated Indians. What sort of education should this be? This and similar other overt and covert questions led to the famous Oriental-Occidental controversy.

Oriental-Occidental Controversy

As said earlier, the G. C. P. I. had been spending the money earmarked for education to (i) set up schools, (ii) appoint lecturers (iii) revive ancient learning, (iv) introduce Western science by appointing European teachers in Oriental schools. (v) provide translations and to (vi) grant rewards and pensions to Pundits. But the Committee was now sharply divided on a matter of policy.

The *Oriental School* which had derived inspiration from Warren Hastings, Minto, Metcalfe, Jones, Wilson and others of the Asiatic Society was now led by Mr. Prinsep, with support from traditionalists outside the Committee. The Orientalist argument was that culture which must be sustained by the soil could not be transplanted. Oriental culture was no inferior to Western culture. To avoid Indian prejudice, the best method to introduce Western learning was by way of translations. Moreover, it was doubtful if Indians could master English. And preservation of existing institutions would best serve the interest of the Govt. Hence, the Govt should encourage Oriental learning through the Oriental classical languages.

As against this, the *Occidental School* which had received nourishment from Sullivan, Grant, Wilberforce, Duff, Rammohan and the Young Bengal had now in Mr. C. E. Trevelyan a stout spokesman. The essence of Occidentalist argument was that superior culture must overwhelm inferior culture. The worthless oriental literature full

of superstition and mysticism ought to be replaced by rational literature. Education must cater to cultural health, not to taste. Western knowledge should be directly introduced through its natural medium—English. The language difficulty might be overcome by codifying law in English which would create an additional motivation for learning English.

The Anglicist school drew inspiration from the Directors' advice issued in 1824 that efforts should be made to introduce English education, and another declaration of 1827 that the purpose of State sponsored education should be the *production of efficient Govt employees*. In 1839 Governor General Lord W. Bentinck made a statement that the policy of Govt was to introduce English as State Language. This was upheld by the Directors in 1850.

It is to be noted that even the Orientalists did not adhere to blunt classicism. They had introduced English classes, Science classes and Extension lectures in the established Oriental Colleges. They made financial grants to the Hindu Vidyalaya and had taken steps towards the establishment of the Calcutta Medical College.

Points of
difference

Evidently they were pursuing a mixed policy of gradual introduction of Western knowledge by method of grafting. But they were now to make vital decisions about the objective of state patronized education, its content the medium and extent of Govt responsibility. In regard to objective, they opined that by alliance with traditional aristocracy through oriental learning and classics, they would strengthen the base of British rule. In regard to the content they still stuck to oriental theology, literature and philosophy with the addition of translators. Such education through classical languages could not, by implication, be education of the masses. Obviously they favoured limitation of Govt effort to the upper social strata.

Occidentalists on the other hand opined that the objective of *Producing Govt employees at reasonable cost* would best be possible through English education through the English language. Such education would win over the middle class people of importance who could interpret the West to the East. It was not necessary, nor was it possible for the state to educate the millions. Educators of the masses should therefore be educated, so that they might in their turn educate their fellow countrymen. This was the so called "Downward Filtration Theory" with which the name of Macaulay became associated.

It is to be noted that in respect of the objective of education, both the parties desired firm establishment of British rule through education (though of different varieties). Neither of the parties stood for mass education. In fact, neither the Classics nor English could be the medium for mass instruction. The real problem of mass education through the vernacular languages was avoided by both the parties, although muffled arguments were raised by some thinkers outside the committee. The basic conflicts therefore were (i) between English and Oriental classics, (ii) the method of Westernisation. While the Orientalists favoured a policy of graduation, the Occidentalists favoured outright westernisation.

Points of Unity

Arbitration
called for

The twain being unable to meet, the conflict boiled down to a legalistic controversy regarding interpretation of the charter clause of 1813. The Orientalists held that improvement of "literature" and encouragement to 'learned' natives as incorporated in the Charter, could mean Oriental literature and Oriental pundits. The Occidentalists held that it meant English literature and persons versed in Western learning. The matter was referred to T. B. Macaulay, L.W. Member of the Council and ex-officio chairman of the G. C. P. I. who submitted his famous Minute on 2nd February, 1835.

Macaulay Minute

Macaulay unequivocally stated in his minute that "literature" did not mean only Oriental literature, nor did "educated Indians" mean only those versed in Oriental classics, because Indians versed in Milton or Locke were also learned in the true sense. One question, however, may be raised. The charter clause had desired 'revival' and improvement of literature. The word 'revival' could apply only to a moribund literature and not to a vigorous literature as English literature was. Other arguments of Macaulay were, however, more important than this legalistic interpretation of Charter-provisions. He opined that Oriental knowledge was a bundle of irrationality, superstition and mysticism. All the wealth of Indian and Arabic literature could not equal that which was contained in a single shelf of Western books. Moreover, Western learning alone was necessary for the reawakening and moral regeneration of Indians. No vernacular language of India was fit to carry Western knowledge. The choice lay between the Oriental classical languages and English. The latter

must be the unavoidable choice because English was the key to modern knowledge. It was the language of the rulers. It was the language of Commerce in India, and it was destined to be the language of Commerce in the whole of the Orient. Just as the classical European languages had contributed to the development of the modern European languages, so would Indian languages draw nourishment from English, and would one day become the competent media of education of Indians. It had been amply proved that Indians could very well learn English and they had a great urge to learn that language. Hence Macaulay favoured the introduction of Western education through English language. Moreover, the responsibility of the Govt should be limited. Lastly, the objective conditions favoured the introduction of Western knowledge, and it had been amply proved that Indians could very well master English and had a great urge for that.

Lord Macaulay has been acclaimed by some historians as a pioneer in English education in India. His Minute was acclaimed as prophetic. A diametrically opposite school of thought condemned him outright. Things to be noted in this connection are that, (i)

Macaulay as a
school of history

Macaulay was not the creator of the urge for western knowledge. Opinions in favour of Western education had been developing in official as well as non-official circles from long before. (ii) Macaulay was not the introducer of a new system of education. A section of Indians had been demanding modern education, and English schools (including Hindu Vidyalaya) had been existent. The Directors had made up their minds. A controversy had been raging in the G. C. P. I. and the Anglicists had been gradually gaining ground. The way things had been developing was a sure indicator of the direction of educational-cultural wind. Macaulay or no-Macaulay, a decision in favour of Western education was historically inevitable. Macaulay only expedited the policy-decision. The interest of the British Empire heavily tilted the balance.

Critics were not rare to say that by introducing Western education Macaulay helped the growth of political consciousness which, in its turn, undermined Britain's colonial mastery in India. In this case also the charge is unfounded. Political alertness of Indians had been steadily growing since the days of Rammohan, and the Young Bengal supplied a great impetus to it.

What is distinctly condemnable is the extent of Macaulay's ignorance exhibited in respect of Indian culture, literature and

education His high browed attitude and outright rejection of the claim of modern Indian languages is also not justifiable. Macaulay's claim that Indian vernaculars would draw 'their life-blood from English just as modern European languages had drawn heavily upon Classical Greek or Latin, had also been a wrong analogy. The relation between European Classical languages and European modern languages was not equivalent to the relation between English and Indian vernaculars. Such an analogy might at best be drawn with the relation between Indian Classical languages and Indian vernaculars.

Lord Macaulay had made two things explicit first—(i) Govt's educational responsibility should be limited to the upper and middle classes from where would education filter down. The educated gentry would educate their fellowmen. (ii) Secondly, he made the objectives of western education unequivocal. Education would create such a class of people as would remain Indians only by birth, but would become Englishmen in values, morals, intellect and attitude. Introduction of western values would complete a cultural conquest of India. Hence his objective was to create a *class of alites*.

The two expectations however, were contradictory to each other (1) While Macaulay had expected the western educated gentry to turn their attention to unfortunate compatriots, the "Anglicised" Indians turned their attention away and became isolated from the masses till a later time. (5) While Macaulay had expected that western-educated Indians would become devoted to the English masters, patriotism and urge for freedom found ready advocates from amongst the English educated gentry. Liberal education was one of the causes of such a development.

Macaulay failed to realise that a successful synthesis might be achieved between traditional Indian culture and modern scientific knowledge. Rejection of this possibility actually hindered the cause of mass education in India. His demand for complete divorce from tradition was also neither justifiable, nor historically sound.

It must, however, be admitted that English education was not simply harmful (although much harm was done to the cause of India's development). It bestowed benefits too. Contact with the West enabled India to discover herself and draw inspiration for a revival. There is no denying that modern rational knowledge enormously

contributed to the birth of nationalism. Lord Macaulay should neither be irrationally eulogised, nor condemned. *His voice was the aggressive and carefree voice of a fast growing Imperialist power as England in those days had been.* Introduction of western education was made imperative by that imperialist interest. The objective conditions were ready. From the historical point of view *Macaulay was simply instrumental in expediting the passage of the inevitable.*

Lord Bentinck's Hasty Award

The fact that Lord Bentinck's administration had been prepared for a major policy-decision, and had been awaiting an "expert" advice to facilitate such a decision is to be cut by Bentinck's action. Only a month after the submission of Macaulay minute, Governor General Lord William Bentinck made his famous policy announcement on 7th March, 1835 that the objective of state aid to education would be *to promote the study of European literature and sciences.* Hence financial aid would be devoted to the spread of English education. The previously established Oriental colleges would not, however, be abolished, nor would the pensions and stipends granted to teachers and students be withdrawn. But new responsibilities in this respect would not be shouldered, nor would the exchequer be any further taxed for the printing of oriental books. In short, Govt-effort would be limited to the spread of English language, literature and the sciences.

Thus the evolution of educational ideas in the 19th Century precipitated a *second major policy-decision* of the Government. *The first had been taken in 1813* to the effect that the Government would intervene in education and be a party to educational enterprise; monetary aids granted by stages from revenue resources *is second policy decision* in 1835 meant that (i) State resources would patronise only western education through English medium. (ii) Oriental classics and cultural heritage were pushed back to a minor rank of importance. (iii) The objective of such education would be the creation of a body of western-educated gentry fit for the black-coated professions. (iv) Such a class might be expected to be allies of British Imperial administration in India. (conversion to Christianity might be a by-product). (v) The question of mass education of the Indian people was thus cold-stored.

A dialectical development, however, became simultaneously apparent with the antithetical growth of an opinion in favour of mass elementary education. The ancient Indian system of education had practically gone out of existence. Some institutions of higher learning had retained their emaciated existence. Elementary schools had been damaged on a large scale. The missionaries of the 18th Century had no love's labour for the institutions of oriental theological learning. But they had kept up the flow of elementary education. Yet, the 19th Century agitation for western education had naturally bypassed the question of traditional indigenous education.

Realities of the objective world and self-interest of British Indian administration, however, forced the Government to allow an assessment of indigenous education although a firm policy in favour of western education was already taken. This apparently contradictory development was inherent in the process of history.

The State of Indigenous Education in Early 19th Century

Consequent upon the downfall of the Maratha Power, the whole of Southern, Western and Northern India (with the exception of the Panjab and the Frontiers) had come under complete British hegemony. A new administration required to be set up in these newly acquired territories. A stock-taking of the previous order of things had to be made. The field of education also was brought within the jurisdiction of statistical stock taking.

A statistical compilation of 1822, initiated by *Lt. Governor Thomas Munro of Madras* showed the existence of a primary school for every 1000 people. Excluding the female population (because education of women was rare) the figure would come up to one school for every 500 people. About $\frac{1}{3}$ of age group 5—10 received schooling benefits. Of course, domestic education provided for 5 times the number of children attending schools. The curriculum included the 3 Rs, skill in drafting letters, contracts, deeds etc. Curricular limitations, absence of printed books and meagreness of teachers' erudition were matters of fact and constituted the major weakness.

Data for Bombay were compiled in 1823 under the initiative of *Lt. Governor Elphinstone*. It comes out that villages without elementary

schools were rare, although the school population consisted mainly of boys. Almost a third of the Brahmin population and about 70% of some aristocratic classes were literate. (In fact, the Bombay Education Society had remarked in 1819, that percentage of literacy in the then India was higher than the same in the then England.) Of course, the drawbacks in Bombay were similar to those in Madras. The two reports supported each other in as much as the state of indigenous education, in general terms, had been. The data for Bengal, however, were more extensive, concrete and enlightening. They may be accepted as reflecting the total picture of India with the exception of some backward regions and pockets.

Reports of Rev. William Adam

Rev. William Adam, a philanthropic clergyman ostracised by his Order for his liberal views had come close to the sons of Indian soil. His proposals for assessment of indigenous education had been rejected in 1829 and 1834. His insistence, however, bore fruit when in 1835 Lord Bentinck accepted his proposals and asked him to carry out the job. Rev. Adam submitted *three successive reports, the first two in 1835 and the third in 1838.*

The first report was a digest made from official papers, records of the G. C. P. I., Reports of the Missions submitted to their superior authorities, and news-sheet reports. Rev. Adam claimed that the then Bengal had 1 lakh elementary schools *i.e. one school for every 400 people.*

The second report reflected an intensive sample study of data collected from Natore Police station area of Rajshahi district. The report showed the existence of 26 elementary schools with 282 children in 485 villages. Moreover, domestic instruction covered 2342 children in 1528 domestic indoor schools in 238 villages. Hence the number of children in domestic schools far exceeded that in public schools. The schools were of various types viz. indigenous (traditional) pathshalas and maktabs, non-indigenous elementary schools, domestic schools, adult schools, English schools, a few girls' schools etc. Varied media of instruction could be located viz., English, Arabic, Persian, Hindi, Bengali etc. Moreover, there existed 38 tols of residential and non-residential types for 997 students. Female education was little prevalent. Yet, the percentage of literacy in the case under survey was about 6.

Adam's third report was based on an extensive study of things in 5 representative districts viz. Murshidabad, Birbhum, Burdwan, Tirhut and South Behar. In the areas under survey there were 2567 public schools in addition to many more domestic schools. School population in proportion to total population was 1 : 73 ; and excluding female population it was about 1 : 36. In certain localities and amongst certain castes literacy was 8% to 12%. There was wholesale literacy in some of the higher castes as well as wholesale illiteracy in some of the lower castes. *Rev Adam divided the literates into 6 categories* viz teachers in higher institutions, teachers in elementary schools, non-teacher intellectuals, adult people with complete elementary education, persons capable of reading and writing, and persons capable of deciphering and signing their own names only.

The data marshalled in Adam's reports led to bitter academic controversy a century later, in the thirties of the current century. When Gandhiji and the national movement questioned the benefits bestowed by British administration and referred to the abominable state of education after 100 years of British rule in comparison with the state of affairs as had been revealed in Adam's Reports, Sir Philip Hartog voiced the English opinion that Adam's data were imaginary and illusory. In reply to this contention, Mr. R. D. Parulekar, Mr. Paranjpe and others upheld Adam's data. The real controversial issue however, was the *definition of a "school" and that of "literacy"*. The standard of evaluation in mid-20th Century could not be the standard for early 19th Century. 'Schools', domestic or public, as they were accepted in those days, had been brought into Adam's assessment as also the standard of 'literacy' in the then accepted sense of the term. Adam's figures were not imaginary if the domestic schools were taken into consideration.

The *third report* incorporated Adam's analysis, estimate and recommendations, the important elements whereof are that—(1) There were two types of indigenous institutions—Hindu Tols and Muslim Madrasahs as institutions of higher learning. There were 3 types of Tols on the basis of differential curricula—(i) those specialising in Vyakarana, Chhanda and Alankara ; (ii) Kavya, Nyaya and Sastra ; (iii) Darsan and Tarka Sastra.

These institutions offered instruction at the highest level. The theological spirit dominated the curricula and school atmosphere.

Teachers were Brahmins and students mostly from the same caste. The classical languages were the media of instruction. The schools were not open to all castes, nor to women. But Formal & traditional higher education Brahmacharya in its spirit and practice was no longer the corner stone of these institutions. The Tols and Madrassahs introduced the life of the society, the Pandits and the Moulvis. Persian was still the official language. Hence Hindu students of all learned Persian and a few learned Hindu teachers taught Persian also.

Tols and Madrassahs were maintained by endowments and donations from the richer classes. Higher education, therefore, still prevailed. But illiteracy was a rule particularly because of the gross selfishness of the benefactors to Western education. Many of the schools were disapproved ("these schools are actually synonymous with caste") a decided defect. Moreover, the academic material education imparted in these institutions was divorced from the practical life of the people. They represented a "glass case" intellectual pockets in the vastness of ignorance.)

(c) The second type of institution was the elementary school.—Hindu Pathshala and Musli Mahtav. The curricula in these schools were almost identical—reading, writing and practical arithmetic with the addition of a few lines from the Holy Quran for the Mahtav boys.

Most of the schools had no houses or buildings. Indigenious elementary schools One courtyard of a temple or mosque, the outhouse of a rich man or even shades of trees were used for routine school sittings. Of course a fixed time-table rarely existed. School timing was determined by the advantage of the teacher concerned. Pupils were not graded. The owner-teacher of the single-teacher school was often helped by a student monitor (known in native terms as "Sardar Poro").

The number of pupils in the average elementary school varied between 2/3 and 14/15. The lowest castes and classes enjoyed no schooling privileges. Harijans were mostly kept out. Attendance of girls was rare, although there was no formal inhibition. Teaching was no monopoly of Brahmins, but the teachers themselves had very little learning. Instructional methods were primitive and the rod was never spared.

The elementary schools enjoyed little patronage of the richer classes. Teachers, therefore, realised a nominal tuition fee in cash

or in kind. The poor teacher had to depend upon a subsidiary source of earning. There was almost complete absence of furniture, instructional equipment or printed text books. Adam held; a brief Inspite of this wretched condition and insurmountable odds, these elementary schools with their practical orientation served the daily needs of the peasant, the small landowner, the tradesman or the "mahajan". This practical utility accounted for the popularity of the schools and their still-existent heart beat and throbbing pulse despite the fast growing inimical circumstances. With their roots in the soil they had been part & parcel of traditional society. Rev. Adam expressed his stout opinion that the administration must take the Indians with it if the good of the people was wished for. Voluntary association of Indians was impossible without sympathy being shown for the peoples own institutions. Adam, therefore, unequivocally proposed that these traditional institutions be integrated with the total educational structure of the new era. The peoples' own school, best known to them, might be accepted as the foundation stone of a national system of education just as the traditional schools in England had become integral parts of English educational development.

Adam, recommended official recognition and patronage for these schools with necessary modifications and improvement. His positive suggestions included—(i) wider and more intensive investigation, (ii) preparation, production and distribution of different text books in various languages and of different standards under Adam's the joint efforts of Europeans and Indians, (iii) improvement of school houses and equipment, (iv) enhancement of academic proficiency of teachers and their in service teacher education, (v) grant of land to attract efficient personnel to the teaching profession, (vi) rewards on the basis of the performance of pupils at examinations, and (vii) the appointment of District Education Officers to inspect the schools and implement these reforms.

The voice of Rev. Adam remained a cry in the wilderness. Adam had been given responsibility for investigation in 1835 and in that very year, without awaiting Adam's findings, Lord Bentinck made his decision in favour of English education for the upper classes. The unsung and unhonoured reports of Adam found place in the uncultivated archives, only to be taken notice of by patriots a hundred years later. In fact, the

Fate of the reports

Govt. was influenced more by political and economic considerations than by academic propriety in adopting a firm policy in favour of English education and language. The indigenous tree of education was uprooted and *India was given a transplanted system* which could never become India's own and merge with her national aspirations. This explains the subsequent growth of protestations and reform movements in different phases.

The rejection of Adam's recommendations had a far reaching adverse effect upon mass education in India. The traditional indigenous system of popular elementary education was allowed to die of privation and neglect. The vacuum was not filled in by any modern system of mass education for 50 years. At least two generations of Indian masses were denied the benefit of education. In this darkness originated many of our current problems of primary education. Our acute problems of literacy, universal primary education, teaching personnel and numerical provision of schools might not have arisen if Adam's recommendations were implemented. But this was not to be. *A colony of a rising Imperialism could not expect the blessings of that fortune.*

By setting aside the claim of mass education the Bentinck-decision introduced western education. *In spite of this genetic weakness the Bentinck award was a landmark in the modern history of education in India.*

Differential Development in the Presidencies

In spite of Lord Bentinck's decision, the introduction of Western education was not an "accomplished affair". Many other obstacles had to be removed before a full-fledged system of English education could be established.

Although the Supreme Council at Calcutta was the administrative apex of the Company's affairs, the administration was not yet so centralised as to guarantee uniformity of action in all the Presidencies. In fact, the different Presidencies acted on their own to a great extent and in many affairs.

Authorities at Bombay rejected 'downward filtration' and adopted the policy of spreading western knowledge through the vernaculars. Indigenous schools were, however, rejected and modern elementary schools were planned with Geometry, Trigonometry, Algebra as curricular additions. The Native Education Society undertook the responsibility of providing primary education. An Education Board

was formed in 1840. It initiated a statistical survey as per Adam plan. In 1852 the policy of effective attention to rural education was adopted and in the following year it was decided to extend aid to teachers of indigenous schools. Normal schools were established at Bombay and Poona in 1845 and 1851 respectively. *Mahatma Govind Das Phule* founded a school for Hindus in 1852. He condemned the filtration principle and pioneered the demand for compulsory education. But controversies did not spare Bombay. The Anglicist camp was led by *Erskine Perry*, and the Vernacular camp included *Col. Jervis, Jagannath Shankarsett, Framji Karsaji, Ibrahim Makha etc.* The 5 year controversy from 1843 ultimately ended in a victory for the Anglican camp under the impact of the already declared policy of the Governor General in Council.

Madras already had a Committee of Native Education existent. It was replaced in 1843 by a Board of Education. A policy to patronise indigenous schools with the Third as Unit had been in force. Here too a directive of the Central Govt required the discontinuance of aid to Collectorate and Tehsil schools and ordered that Govt grants would be made only for Western Education. Obviously, *English education secured priority advantage in Madras also*.

Thomason Plan

Mr. Thomason, Governor of N. W. Province accepted the Adam principle by over-riding the Filtration theory. A Department of Education was founded and a policy of accepting the indigenous schools, with preference to vernacular medium was adopted. Officers were appointed in 1844 with the task of organising the preparation of text books in the vernacular language.

A statistical survey of 1845 revealed that the province had 7966 schools of different types and $\frac{1}{3}$ of children of school going age group received instruction. In 1846, the Board made a plan to enhance this percentage. It was decided to provide one rural school for every 200 households to be maintained through the Zaminders on a jagir basis. In 1848 it was decided to establish one model school in every Tehsil. The curriculum was improved by the inclusion of History, Geography, Accountancy etc. Inspectors were appointed and a system of teacher's reward was adopted. A normal school was established

at Agra. In 1851, Mr. Alexander, Collector of Muthra, decided to establish one central school for every 'halka' to be maintained by 1% cess on revenue receipts.

In spite of these positive features, N. W. Province was gradually brought under the impact of Bengal-policy. The new province of Punjab (formed in 1849) had started to emulate the example of N. W. Province. But here too the demand for English education became very soon irresistible.

In Bengal, the Orientalists continued to fight a lost battle with the object of turning a total 'loss' into a simple 'defeat'. They prayed for the maintenance of existing schools and continuance of aid for printing classical works. Governor-General Lord Auckland considered it impracticable to transform a huge number of traditionalists into a coven of enemies. With the object of pleasing everybody with a moderate policy he declared in 1839 that the existing Oriental schools and teaching posts therein would be maintained, necessary Oriental literature would be purchased and 1/2 of students in Oriental institutions would be granted stipends. But simultaneously he circumscribed the field of activity of Oriental schools to 'the culture of Oriental knowledge'. (English instruction might be undertaken after fulfilment of this task). He made it unequivocally clear that the attempt to spread modern Western knowledge through the Oriental classics was not worthwhile.

While making some concessions for oriental studies, Auckland actually strengthened the cause of English education. English was made the *medium in Govt Zilla Schools*. It was declared that Govt's prime duty was to satisfy the huge number of Indians who desired complete education in European literature, philosophy and sciences. Hence English Education would be more attended to. The Govt's decision to accord *equal advantages to Indians* possessing equal qualifications with Europeans also increased the Indian urge for English education.

It should be noted that the period of Lord Auckland's Governor-Generalship witnessed the early beginning of a movement to make the Govt. recognise the modern Indian languages as media of instruction. *The lead came from the Young Bengal.* This group founded

Pacification of
Orientalists

But more benefit
to English
education

Dawn of a new
thinking

newspapers like 'The Flagman' (in English) and 'Jnananwesana' (in Bengali), and established intellectual societies like the "Academic Association" and "Sarvattva Dipika Sabha" (1833). The "Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge" (1838) and the Mechanical Institute (1839) were also the contributions.

The contribution of the Young Bengal in terms of the number of schools founded by them was not impressive. They favoured Western education; but they also spoke of education of the "masses", education of women, knowledge of the sciences, and vernacular as medium of instruction. The signs of the future were reflected in their vision. The movement for vernacular-medium was rowled by Rev. Krishnamohan Banerjee who was supported (as Rev. Adam did) by Europeans like Hodgson, Wilkinvor, Balentyne etc. The demand was naturally rejected. *but Auckland saved Orientalism from total extinction, but offered greater encouragement to Western Education and did not abandon "Downward Filtration Policy"* Hence Govt. effort remained limited to higher education alone.

But things did not take a long time to change. After their victory in 1835, the Anglicists took the field in right earnest.

Administrative
measures facilitated English
education

In a couple of years the number of English schools conducted by them came up to 48. On the other hand (i) Judicial offices were declared open to educated Indians. (ii) In 1837 English replaced Persian as official language, and (iii) In 1844 Lord

Hardinge declared the policy of recruiting Indians for official employment on the basis of educational qualifications to be tested by competitive examinations. These measures facilitated the quick expansion of English education. *Me.* while in 1842, the G. C. P. I. was replaced by the Council of Education.

After 1835, the strongest entrepreneurs in the field, however, were the missionaries. They considered the 1835 decisions as their total victory and tried to acquire monopoly agency in educational enterprise. This was the "Duff Are" when they established schools and colleges throughout India. Scottish Church College and Duff's Free Body Institution in Calcutta, Ralpet College and Christian College in Madras, Noble College at Masulipatam, St. Joseph's College at Nagapatam, Hislop College at Nagpur, St. Joseph's College at Agra were contributions of this period. Some of them do still exist and some others developed into local universities.

Indian thinkers also adopted a new strategy. The polemical controversies of the twenties and thirties now died down and both the traditionalists and extremists adopted moderation. *Rammohan's principle of cultural synthesis and constructive reforms again came out victorious and was shaped in this second phase of the Renaissance by Maharshi Debendranath Tagore of the Brahmo Samaj and Pandit Ishwarindra Vidyasagar of the Hindu Society*

The new-formed Brahmo Samaj established the Tattwabodhini Pathshala in 1840 and the traditionalists led by Radhakanta Dev established the Hitarthi Vidyalyaya. Many such schools cropped up in Calcutta and in mufussil districts. However, the Government was restricted only to the schools conducted by the Education Council and the previously established classical schools. Non-Official English schools were not given financial aid. Hence the principle of 'grants' became an issue of controversy.

Luminaries of mid-19th Century

Despite the conflict between Traditionalism and Modernism, between classical and Western learning, it is difficult to list out persons who had unflinchingly been classicists. Even the prominent institutions could not be designated as belonging to one particular group. Many teachers of the Fort William College had also been on the staff of the Sanskrit College some time or other. In spite of their being Pundits, some of them recognised the value of the modern knowledge of the sciences. On the other hand, some others, who had been on the staff of the Fort William College or Hindu College, could not unreservedly accept everything modern.

As discussed earlier, *Mrstynjoy Vidyalkar* had been a teacher of Fort William College, a member of the preparatory committee of Hindu College and a member of the committee of managers of Calcutta School Society. Yet he was a staunch opponent of Rammohan Roy's religious and social reform movements.

Joggopal Tarkalankar served the Serampore Press and Mission School and had been a pillar of *Samachar Darpan* from 1818 to 1823. But he again served in Sanskrit College for 22 years from 1824.

Kashinath Tarkapanchanon served at Fort William College from 1823 to 24 and in Sanskrit College from 1825 to 1827.

Dwarkanath Vidyabhusan served in Sanskrit College, first as librarian, then as lecturer and teacher of literature from 1832 to 1844.

He founded the 'Somprokash' which attained considerable fame. Books written by him included 'Nitisar' 'Upadeshamala' etc.

Madan mohan Tarkalankar had been *Jwar Chandra Vidyasagar's* co-student at Sanskrit College where he read Grammar, Literature, Algebra, Jyotish, Philosophy, etc. He accepted service under the council of Education (which replaced the G. C. P. I.) and served successively in Hindu College Pethala, Baraset Govt. School, Fort William College, Krishnagore College. He established a Sanskrit Printing Press (Sanskrita Jantra). The most interesting thing about him is that Ramgopal Ghosh, Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee (both of the Young Bengal) and Madanmohan Tarkalankar formed the three pillars of Bethune Hindu Balika Vidyalaya. In spite of the danger of conservative criticism he got his daughters Bhubannala and Kuntalala admitted as students in Bethune School. He himself served as an honorary teacher in that school and wrote the famous primers—"Sishu-Siksha" in 3 parts between 1819—50, as text books. In "Sarba Subhakari" (a monthly paper brought out by senior students of Hindu College) he wrote an exhaustive article on the need for women's education.

A slightly different career was that of *Bhudev Mukherjee*. Born and brought up in a typical puṇḍit family, Bhudev had his early education in Sanskrit College, followed by courses in Dattamohan Roy's Indian Academy, Nabin Madhab's School, Bholanath's School and Junior Department of Hindu College. Later he became head-master of Hindu Hitarubi Vidyalay, (Hindu Charitable Institution) established by Radhakanta Dev, Dattamohan Sen and Debendranath Tagore. He also worked in Calcutta Madrasam and as head-master of Howrah School and Hughly Normal School. The Chaudernagore Seminary was his own school established in 1847, as was also the Sreepore School. In 1862 he was appointed officiating Assistant Inspector of schools, Central Division and he rose to the rank of a Class I officer in the Bengal Education Service. He was one of the 20 members of the Hunter Commission and also its Bengal Committee. The Bengal Report of the Commission is known to have been drafted by Bhudev Mukherjee.

Bhudev Mukherjee was an upholder of mass education through the mother tongue. In monthly "Siksha Darpan & Sambadsar" he wrote in 1864, "To receive education is the only purpose behind birth. There is no second need for the human body." In a series of proposals

on education in 1856 he showed his liking for teacher training, dealt with the need for mass education and issued special notes for teachers on fundamentals of educational theory, methods of teaching to read and write, the methods of teaching Mathematics, Mensuration, Natural Science, Geography, History, methods of examination (including oral test), religious instruction, home guidance, teacher-pupil relation etc. He cited examples from the life and work of Pestalozzi and of Thomas Arnold.

But Bhudev was not one of the poor millitant. There is no denying that his interests lay with the middle and upper classes. Obviously, when the question of choosing arose, he sided with the middle class. When in 1872 the Govt of Campbell proposed the denotion of status of Berhampur, Krishnagore and Rajshahi Colleges, Bhudev wrote that rural society was destroyed, cottage industries vanished, rent soared high, English was language of Govt. and commerce, *notional urge for mass education was absent* "To sacrifice higher education in the supposed interest of the lower classes is simply to overthrow the foundation on which alone the whole system can possibly rest. A channel has been created through which ideas can be admitted and what we want is to distribute them widely".

Apart from theories and ideas, Bhudev's contribution includes a number of text books followed in schools and colleges viz. Natural Science in two volumes, History of England, Mensuration, History of Rome, History of Bengal. As said earlier, he wanted the dissemination of knowledge through Bengali, the mother tongue in Bengal and in Bihar through Hindi. In respect of social customs and norms, family laws and duties, Bhudev was a traditionalist and placed great emphasis upon ethical conduct.

Apart from pundits there were other persons in mid-19th Century Bengal who enhanced the cause of education. Iswar Chandra Gupta, the famous journalist and poet was one such. He conducted several journals viz. Sambad Probbakar, Sambad Ratnabali, Sambad Sadhuranjan and Pashanda Piran. He was a member of Tattwabodhini Sabha, Niti Tarangini Sabha (of Taki), Niti Sabha (of Darjipara, Calcutta).

Kaliprosanna Sinha founded the Vidyotsahini Sabha, of which Pyarichand Mitra was a member. Men of letters delivered lectures at its sessions on selected subjects. (C. G. Montague, headmaster of David Hare Academy lectured on 'Labour—its importance, dignity,

piety and Triumphant results.' Sri Priyamadhab Bose spoke on, "Greatness of man." Sri Umacharan Nandi spoke on, "Harpful practices in Bengal." Kirkpatrick lectured on, "Sentiments proper to the age and country". The Sabha conducted essay writing competitions among young men. It also organised receptions held in honour of Michael Madhusudan and Rev. Long.

The Vidyotsahini Sabha conducted "Vidyotsahini Patrika" (1855), 'Sachatattwa Prokashika' (1856) in which Zoology, Geology, Geography, Literature, Arts were extensively discussed. It conducted a monthly—"Bibiharthha Sangraha" edited by Rajendralal Mitra, the famous man of letters. Personally, Kaliprosanna made handsome donations to free schools, schools conducted without Govt aids, and provided prizes to students for literary or educational proficiency.

Kaliprosanna favoured English education but was mortally opposed to the upstart practices of the Baboos. The Vidyotsahini Sabha robustly advocated social reforms. It submitted an open petition in support of widow remarriage and another mass petition for abolition of Kulluism. Kali Sinha was an eloquent speaker at a public meeting in 1861 in Sobhabazar House to protest against some derogatory remarks made by Supreme Court Judge Mr. M. Veila. Jatindramohan Tagore, Ramgopal Ghosh, Radhakanta Dev, Debendranath Tagore were other speakers or members of the audience. Such protest meetings, only 8 years after the Sepoy Mutiny, signified the palpable development of national consciousness.

The total effect of all these developments may be, at least partially, assessed from the activities of *Mid-19th century Trio of Debendranath Tagore, Akshoy Kumar Dutta and Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar*.

Debendranath Tagore

Debendranath reorganised the Brahma Sabha and started social reform movement on a new basis. His strategy was 'enlightening the public through education, and creation of public opinion through newspapers and journals.

Debendranath reorganised the Atmiya Sabha under his own Presidentship. This was a forum for discussion on social problems. He was the main spirit behind the Tattwaranjini Sabha, some of the objectives of which were (i) development of learning, (ii) Research, (iii) public debates on Sastra. This association became Tattwabodhini Sabha (by its close relation with Brahma Sabha) in 1839. The Sabha started its

own journal "Tattwabodhini Patrika" which served a brilliant and much valued socio-academic purpose. The paper discussed religion, arts, sciences, archaeology etc. Although Debendranath's inclination was towards religious discourses, he could not gain his point unilaterally. The Paper Committee which screened and selected the articles included Hindu leaders also, including Vidyasagar.

The Hindu College chiefs had established the Hindu College Pathshala in 1840 to disseminate the knowledge of East and West, through Bengali. Text books were also prepared. Accepting that model, Debendranath established the Tattwabodhini Pathshala in 1840 with the object that "The boys will receive religious education which is a new feature in the system of native instruction." It was a measure to counteract missionary influence, so that "religious knowledge may be imparted in our faith. The school will impart both spiritual and temporal instruction." The subjects of study included the Scripts, Geography, Physics etc. Under Brahmo influence, similar schools were established in mufasssil areas like Jessore, Dinajpur, Faridpur, Barisal etc. The total effect of Brahmo educational enterprise as against Missionary enterprise in this period was not negligible. This also is of interest that Debendranath's group and Radhakanta Dev's group cooperated with each other on many issues, while Radhakanta Dev and Vidyasagar could not always make a common cause, although both were Hindus. The Tattwabodhini group has links with Vidyasagar, mainly through Akshoy Kumar Dutta.

Akshoy Kumar Dutta

Well versed in Persian, Sanskrit, Bengali and English, A. K. Dutta had command of Western Classical languages also. He was acquainted with Iswar Chandra Gupta and attended 'Bangla Bhashanusilan Sabha'. He was also a member of 'Niti Parangini Sabha'. Akshoy Kumar's essay was adjudged the best in an essay competition organised by Debendranath Tagore for the selection of Editor for Tattwabodhini Patrika. A. K. Dutta was also Secretary of Atmiya Sabha, of which Debendranath was the President.

Akshoy Kumar said in a lecture that the soul of India was dying under foreign rule, foreign language, foreign torture. To challenge the overwhelming influence of English the task should be the spread of science-education through Bengali (of course together with religious lessons). Debendranath Tagore, however, says that while he sought

the relation between God and man, Akshoy Kumar sought the relation between the objective and the subjective world. This signifies a scientific attitude. In fact, the Paper Committee of Tattwabodhini included (among others—and in the different periods) Debendranath, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Rajnarayan Mitra, Rajnarayan Bose, Ananda Kumar Bose etc. while Akshoy Kumar was editor.

Akshoy Kumar Dutta conducted another journal "The Vidya Darshan" with the objectives to discuss subjects which would improve Bengali language as expressive of thought on all subjects and would provide translations of books on Science, History, Ethics and would fight against malpractices in Indian life.

Samaj Unnati Vidyalayini Sabha (an association of friends for social improvement) was formed in 1851 with Debendranath Tagore as President and Kishorichand Mitra and Akshoy Kumar Dutta as Joint Secretaries. Other important members were Ramendralal Mitra, Hariachand Mulherjee, Pysichand Mitra, Rashik Chandra Mullik, Radhanath Sikdar etc. Under Akshoy Kumar's inspiration and as proposed by Kishorichand Mitra, the society resolved to foster women's education, remarriage of Hindu widows, abolition of child marriage and polygamy etc.

Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar established many model schools in the districts of Nadia, Burdwan, Hooghly and Midnapore. He realised that very few teachers were suitable either academically or pedagogically. His proposal to the Govt. for the appointment of Akshoy Kumar Dutta as Head of the Calcutta Normal School is an eloquent testimony to the capabilities of Sri Dutta. Vidyasagar wrote, "He is one of the very few of the best Bengali Writers of the time. His knowledge of the English language is very respectable and he is well informed in the elements of General knowledge and well acquainted with the art of teaching." Akshoy Kumar successfully discharged duties as head of the institution.

In his David Hare memorial lecture Akshoy Kumar made fervent appeals for educational donations and endowments. After acclaiming the Bengal British India Society, the Tattwabodhini Sabha, the Hindu Hitarthi institution for their role in education, he declared that the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlettered, Brahmos and Hindus and all sorts of people belonging to different castes, creeds and outlooks made a common cause for education which must be furthered. He

imagined a brilliant future for India in the fields of politics, judiciary, agriculture, industry, commerce etc. He was confident that Indians would build sailing vessels, bridges and steam engines. Swadeshi products would be made from Swadeshi materials.

In his description of a dream fantasy (Svapna Darsan) he depicted the creeper of verses with ornaments (Alankar), the big tree of Jyotish, the tree of Mathematics which covered half of the forest, other trees of Chemistry, Physiology, Medicine, Smriti, Philosophy etc. in the large garden of learning with multiple vegetation. At the same time he condemned the vices of lust, drunkenness and hypocrisy and upheld the virtue of *Shaddha* and *Japa* (devotion and perseverance).

It is evident from the discussions that most of the educational thinkers and workers of mid-19th century had three things in common viz. (1) All of them placed great emphasis upon ethics and morals. Many associations also were established to re-establish 'Nisi' and conduct of behaviour. (2) Both Hindu and Brahmo thinkers had a religious sense in their thoughts. The first was a reaction to the excesses of the Young Bengal. The second was a reaction to the missionary excesses in denominational instruction. (3) The third feature was the early formations of a national sentiment which was specially prominent in Akshoy Kumar Datta. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar discarded the religious assistance, and sought to build up a secular system of education with emphasis upon mass education.

The Role of Iswarchandra Vidyasagar

Pandit Iswarchandra shone brilliantly in this period like a mid-day sun. His activities started with the formation of the 'Society for the Promotion of Bengali Language and Literature' in 1826. His associates were Iswarchandra Gupta, Akshoy Kumar Datta and others. Vidyasagar's mental make-up had been shaped when he served as a Pundit in Fort William College. While accepting modern thinking he did not sacrifice tradition and religion, and thereby proved that a happy synthesis was possible. As a Principal of Calcutta Sanskrit College he attached equal importance to English, Sanskrit and Bengali. He did not fear to replace useless themes of Oriental Philosophy with useful Occidental themes.

Iswarchandra had himself been a student of the Sanskrit College which had started with a 12 year "free" course only for Brahmins. Im

1826, a 'Vaidyak' class was opened, thereby opening the doors of the college to Vaidya Youth.

After a brilliant academic career, Vidyasagar joined the Fort William College in 1841 as its Head Pandit in Bengali Department. While serving there, he mastered English by private reading. Acquaintance with Frederick James Halliday, John Peter Grant, Cecil Beadon, William Grey etc. stood him in good stead in subsequent years.

In 1846, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Sanskrit College where Rashamay Datta was the Secretary. On the basis of experiences in student life and his current office, Iswarchandra proposed some reforms, the main of which was improved teaching of Sanskrit by more economic and scientific methods, integration of classical learning with English knowledge, to prepare youth who could spread the knowledge of western sciences through Bengali. His suggestions being ignored, he resigned from assistant secretary's office in 1847.

He was, however, recalled in 1850 when he joined the college again as teacher of literature. He submitted another report to Mr. Mount of the Council of Education. The secretary Mr. Rashamoy Datta resigned and Iswarchandra was appointed secretary of the college. The theme of this report again was 'reorganisation' of the Sanskrit College. He suggested that instead of over emphasis upon inert Sanskrit Grammar and outmoded texts, knowledge of fundamentals of Bengali Grammar should be imparted. Sanskrit Grammar teaching was reshuffled, by replacing 'Mugdhabodh' with 'Upakramanika' and 'Byakaran Kaumudi'. He compiled a Sanskrit reader by editing selected pieces from Hitopadesha, Panchatantra, Ramayana, Mahabharata etc. He wanted effective Sanskrit learning for the elite, and proficiency in the mother tongue for the common man. Translation of matter from physics and other sciences might be prepared. But English should be a compulsory subject of study. When in 1853 Mr. Ballentyne, Principal of the Benares Sanskrit College visited the Calcutta College and expressed opinion which opposed Vidyasagar's suggestion, the latter submitted another report in a mood of protest. He expressed himself unhesitatingly against Sankhya, Vedanta and Burckley which, in his opinion, were useless. Instead, he suggested the study of the advancing sciences of Europe. In short, Vidyasagar stood for a combination of Western and Eastern knowledge with emphasis upon English, Sanskrit and Bengali in particular.

Vidyasagar worked as Principal of the Sanskrit College from 1851 to 1858. In this short period he introduced a few important internal reforms. In 1851, admission was made open to Kayasthas. The system of closure on Sundays was introduced. Courses in Grammar were reshuffled. In 1852 an admission fee of Rs. 2/- was introduced. Through Vidyasagar's intercession, the Govt. agreed to recruit Deputy Magistrates from amongst Sanskrit College Graduates also. In 1853 the English department was reorganised and English was made a compulsory subject. In 1854, a system of monthly tuition fees was introduced. The college was made open to all students 'of gentle birth'.

Iswarchandra Bandyopadhyay's contributions were more prominent in the fields of primary education and women's education. In 1853 he had submitted a memorandum stating that the first need was mass education. He suggested the establishment of primary schools, preparation of text books and training of teachers on a new footing free from traditional superstitions. He wrote to Mr. Mouat, appealing for positive measures.

In 1854, during Lord Dalhousie's Governor Generalship, Mr. Halliday (first Lieutenant Governor of Bengal), recognised the hapless conditions of the indigenous schools, at a time when the Despatch of 1854 changed the 'filtration theory' and announced the Govt's willingness to help mass education. Vidyasagar and Halliday agreed to establish some model schools and to institute a system of inspection. The schools would provide instruction in Geography, History, Biographies, Geometry, Arithmetic, Natural Science, Moral Science, Political Science, Physiology, apart from the 3 Rs. and the medium would be the mother tongue (Bengali). Vidyasagar planned for 3—5 class schools under one Head Pandit and 2 assistant Pandits for each. A normal school would be started. Four districts (Hooghly, Midnapore, Burdwan, Nadia) were selected for operation in localities away from secondary schools. One inspector was appointed for Hooghly and Midnapore and another for Burdwan and Nadia. The Principal of the Sanskrit College would be Chief-Inspector in addition to his college duties. A normal school was founded in 1855 under the Principalship of Akshoykumar Datta to produce two batches (of 60 each) of teachers every year. Vidyasagar was in the same year appointed Inspector of School for Southern Bengal. In a year's time five schools were established in each district.

In 1849, Mr. D.W. Bethune, law member of the Governor General's Council and President of the Council of Education, in co-operation with some prominent Bengalee gentlemen, established a 'free school' for secular education of Hindu Girls. The school was variously known as Calcutta Female School, Hindu Female School, Native Female School and lastly Bethune Girls' School. In 1850, Vidyasagar accepted secretaryship of the school. In the reorganised committee of 1856, Mr. Cecil Beadon became president with Vidyasagar as secretary. The other members included Kalikrishna Dev, Hara Chandra Ghosh, Ramaprasad Ray, Kashiprasad Ghosh etc.

In the meantime, the Despatch of 1854 had spoken favourably of Govt's responsibility in women's education. Vidyasagar started a girls' school at Jaugram in Burdwan. With the concurrence of Mr. F. Halliday he made a plan to start girls' schools in villages where villagers would provide school houses. During 1858, twenty schools were started in Hooghly, eleven in Burdwan three in Midnapore, one in Nadia, (35 schools in all). When the Govt. showed apathy to sanction aids for these schools, Vidyasagar established a "Nari Siksha Bhandar". Vidyasagar's undaunted spirit encouraged conservative Hindus also to open girls' schools.

In 1853 Iswar Chandra had started an Anglo-Sanskrit free school at Birsinha, his native village. In 1857 he started the Jaugram girls' school, as said earlier. In 1859 some of his fellow travellers started the Calcutta Training School, with him as secretary. In 1861, it was renamed as Calcutta Training Academy. In 1864 it became the Hindu Metropolitan Institution (subsequently only Metropolitan Institution). It received no aid from the Govt. and was the first Indian college founded and managed by Indians with only Indians on the teaching staff. In 1872 it was recognised as a second grade college and in 1879 as a first grade one. From 1894 it opened law courses, and from 1885 B. A. (Honours) i.e. M. A. courses. The Shyampukur branch of the institution was started in 1884, Bowbazar branch in 1885, and Barrabazar branch in 1887. During financial straits and for the construction of its buildings the expenses were almost wholly borne by Vidyasagar himself. This success encouraged free enterprise of other Indians to establish English institutions including colleges.

In 1854, Iswar Chandra was appointed a member of the Board of Examiners instituted for examining I.C.S. cadre after abolition of the

Fort William College in that year. In 1855 he was appointed a member of the University Committee when plans were made for establishing universities in pursuance of the Despatch of 1854. In 1857, he was made a fellow of Calcutta University. In 1870 he became associated with the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science and in 1876, a member of its Board of Trustees.

In 1839, Vidyasagar had become a member of the Tattwabodhini Sabha and was its first secretary in 1848. He was also a member of its 'paper committee' and also contributed to the *Sarbasubhakari*. The *Somprakash* was planned by him, although it was edited by Dwarkanath Vidyabhusan. He also salvaged the *Hindu Patriot* after the death of Haris Chandra Mukherjee.

A major aspect of Vidyasagar's contributions was constituted of his literary activity. As said earlier, he wrote *Upakramanika*, *Byakaran Kavym* (in 4 parts) and *Riju Path*. In 1842 he wrote *Basudev Charit*, in 1846 *Batal Panchabinsati*, 1848—*Banglar Itihas*, in 1849—*Jiban Charit* and *Bodhodaya*, in 1855 *Varna Parichay*—Parts I & II, and in 1864—*Sabdamanjory* (a dictionary). He reshuffled the Bengali script to make it more easily usable and understandable. His series of primers facilitated the spread of mass literacy.

Other literary contributions of Vidyasagar, as is well known, included *Sakuntala* (1855), *Sitar Vanavash* (1872), *Bhrantibilash* (1869) etc. For use as university text books he wrote *Meghadutam*, *Abhijnanam*, *Harsha Charitam* etc. His two treatises on widow remarriage and two treatises on polygamy created a stir in social and intellectual life of Bengal. In fact, he polished Bengali and made it a vehicle of higher thought. His Bengali translations and adaptations made the classical matter accessible to the ordinary reader.

As a matter of modest estimate we may refer to C. E. Buckland who says, "He combined a fearless independence of character with great gentleness and the simplicity of a child in his dealing with the people of all classes." And Michael Madhusudan Datta says, "He has the genius and wisdom of an ancient sage the energy of an Englishman and the heart of a Bengali mother."

What is most important for our purpose is that Iswar Chandra proved by words and deeds, that a synthetic modern culture and education was possible and traditionalism and Anglicism should both be avoided. He also proved that social barriers to educational opportunities might be broken, if sincerely desired. He started, in a

major way, a movement for mass literacy and primary education. Similarly, he furthered the cause of women's education. His Metropolitan College set an example of new type Indian efforts for the spread of education. And above all his advocacy of the mother tongue as a subject of study and as a medium of instruction at primary level made its ultimate recognition almost irresistible.

Such changes in objective conditions had been affecting the Govt policy also. During the period of *Lord Hardinge*, the Education Council had begun to pay attention to elementary education. 101 Primary schools has been planned for Bengal with 3 Rs. Bengali Language, Geography, History of India as curricular subjects. A tuition fee of one anna per month was to be realised. A Normal School in Calcutta was established and school-inspection introduced. *Lord Dalhousie* further expanded this move. In 1852 the Council of Education took over responsibility of primary education too. It was decided in 1853 that on the model of the Thomason policy in N. W. Province, Rev. Acland's recommendations would be made effective in Bengal. The Govt would extend aids to the indigenous schools and conduct some modern schools as models for them to emulate, and Circle Pandits would be appointed for better teaching. In spite of these laudable thinking, *the practical achievements were little*, because backpull was very strong. Only 8 thousand rupees a year were earmarked for primary education through the mother tongue and there were 33 recognised primary schools in Bengali in 1854.

The change in attitude, however, is more noteworthy. The weakness of the filtration theory had already become apparent. *English education did antithetically give birth to a national consciousness, and functioned as a 'boomerang'.* Criticism of British rule was voiced by the educated gentry. The most English-loving Young Bengal led the field. The Charter act of 1813 was vociferously criticised. The Bengal British India Society was founded in 1843. Agitations were conducted against slave labour and indenture of Indian coolie labour. The Freedom of the Press granted in 1838 was used against British 'misrule'. The Black Bill Agitation challenged the special privileges enjoyed by Europeans in India. The narrow base of British administration founded upon alliance with a small fraction of educated upper and middle classes, thus, showed instability. The Govt. considered it advisable to make direct contact with the masses.

Mass education might be one of the methods. The outworn filtration policy, therefore, required to be abandoned. In these circumstances, redrafting of educational policies became imperative.

Genesis of Wood's Despatch

Mid-19th Century was a turning point in the history of education in British India. (A) The Govt. had in 1835 adopted the policy of English education, but there was yet no firm policy in regard to the *objective* of such education. There had been *three schools of thought from the cultural view point*—(i) the successors of Hastings—Duncan School; (ii) the successors of Grant-Macaulay school, and (iii) the successors of Jervis-Rammohan school. From the *political and administrative view point* there were *three types of thought*—(i) produce less costly officers, (ii) win the aristocracy over, (iii) ally with the middle classes. (B) The *missionaries* dreamt of 'moral and religious rebirth' through education. (C) The *Directors of the Company* wanted to secure properly trained servants. (D) *Liberal thinkers* of Munro—Metcalfe school considered it a duty of the sovereign to educate the subjects. (E) In regard to the *method of provision*, the Downward Filtration policy had been adopted on the analogy of English aristocracy. Education of the higher classes had been considered politically more important. Govt. care was to be bestowed upon a limited few who were expected to be interpreters of the West. But this policy was found infructuous and its reversal was called for. (F) English had been accepted as medium of education. But, with reversal of filtration theory, there was the *need to reconsider the language issue*, more so because the demand for the mother tongue even in post-primary education became more and more vocal. (G) The once condemned *indigenous schools* had again to be brought into the focus. (H) The *limited span of Govt. responsibility* required to be widened. (I) The *Muslims* had so long boycotted western education. But now the Muslim leadership began to think anew and the govt considered it worthwhile to forge a link with the muslim masses through education. (J) The social reform movement initiated by Rammohan, Bentinck, Bethune, and carried forward by Vidyasagar had been breaking through the conservative wall. The question of *women's education* became a practical proposition. (K) In 1835, a decision had been made in favour of English education, but the *question of agency* had

remained untackled. The missionaries had begun with a new burst of enthusiasm with emphasis shifted to secondary and collegiate education. The Govt. had also simultaneously entered into the field through the G.C.P.I. (subsequently the Council of Education). Private Indian enterprise had started. A clash of interests, therefore, became inevitable. The missionaries demanded that Bentinck's award had been practically a blank cheque for them and *they must be given monopoly agency to provide education*. They not only condemned the costly and godless education in the Govt. school, but also questioned the propriety of competitive examinations on the basis of secular courses and demanded monopoly right to produce text books. On the other hand a strong *Indian opinion had developed in favour of 'secular' western education*. The Govt. had, therefore, to *decide upon the object of education, the place of religion in it, the agency and machine for educational provisions and extent, form and method of Govt. control*.

These were some of the old issues which had remained unresolved or were by-products of issues that had been previously solved.

Completely new problems, however, were not lacking
 New problems

In this Victorian Era, the British Empire had been enjoying the best fortune. Indian mines were dug out and investments made in Tea, Textile and Jute industries. The beginning of Public Work and Irrigation undertakings required the services of Civil Engineers. Lawyers were required for a full implementation of the new legal system. Obviously *the question of professional and vocational education* became a practical proposition.

Indians were now admitted into administrative and judicial services. The principle of equal opportunity for equal calibre was announced (at least in theory). Urge for English education had grown. Competitive examinations had been introduced. It was, therefore, necessary to *establish a complete "system" of education* with proper gradations and with a University at the top as an examining and certifying body, whose certificates might be accepted by the appointing authorities. (The Council of Education had, in 1845, proposed the foundation of a University at Calcutta).

All these considerations led to a rethinking. The British Parliament again discussed things during renewal of Charter in 1853. The total policy was incorporated in a Despatch received in India in 1854. The Despatch became famous as Wood's Despatch of 1854,

after the name of Charles Wood, President of the Company's Board of Control.

Wood's Despatch of 1854

The *objectives* of English education as enunciated in the Despatch included (i) bestowal of "moral and material blessings that flow from the general diffusion of *useful knowledge*", (ii) Improved intellect and morality would ensure the *supply* of "*servants of doubtless probity*", (iii) Such knowledge would teach the "*natives*" the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital and rouse them to emulate 'us' in the *development of the vast resources of their country* and (iv) Confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy *increase of wealth and commerce*, and at the same time secure to us a large and more certain *supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures* and extensively consumed by all classes of our population as well as an almost *inexhaustible demand for the produce of our British labour*."

Objectives of
Education

An analysis of the objectives bring out the following components—
(i) English education would be so bestowed as to develop the agricultural resources of India so that she might ensure a perennial supply of raw materials for British industries and might become an endless market for the consumption of Britain's industrial goods. Thus, *education must strengthen the colonial economic relationship*. (ii) The immediate and more concrete objective would be the preparation of servile personnel for employment. A clerk-making education was thought of, and a *direct link established between education and clerical employment*.

The *content* of the education would be an improved academic study of European arts, science, philosophy and literature, i.e. Western knowledge.

The *medium* for such improved knowledge would be English although the vernaculars might be accepted on account of their traditional and social values, and also as the media for mass education. Anglo-Vernacular schools, and (if necessary) Vernacular High Schools might be established. *Indigenous primary schools would be encouraged and text books printed in Indian languages*.

Content, medium
and method

As for *method*, the Despatch regretted the Filtration Theory and

declared that 'upper classes can stand on their own legs.' Hence Govt's attention would be turned to the needs of the masses. The policy would be to impart "useful and practical knowledge suited to every station of life".

These two statements deserve a bit of analysis. The two together meant a denial of 'equal opportunities' and ultimately led to the creation of a gulf between "Educated Baboos" and "uneducated millions". The Despatch simultaneously incorporated the principle of granting 'merit scholarships' to ensure an upward rise of the deserving, by the educational ladder. But meagrely grants made scholarships mere gifts of fortune for the few, and the majority could not go up the ladder. Yet, the reference to "useful and practical knowledge" was pregnant with future possibilities of development in vocational education.

The Despatch admitted the need for *professional education* in Law, Medicine & Engineering under the University and also stipendiary Teacher-education. Moreover, it assured Govt. grants for education of Muslims, and education of Women.

On the *question of religion*, the Despatch made an explicit declaration in favour of secular instruction. Govt. schools would be non-denominational as would be the non-official schools enjoying grants-in-aid. This was a clear negation of missionary claim for monopoly and denominational instruction. Simultaneously, however, it was announced that non-official agencies might impart religious instruction at their own cost, and this would be kept off the margin of Govt's attention. It was, thus, a *compromise solution*, with the object of pleasing both the missionaries and the secular Indian opinion.

The Despatch directed the establishment of a complete "system" of education with universities at the top and a network of graded schools beneath them. The university would be charged with the responsibility of determining syllabuses and standards of education, assessing attainments by examination and certifying the eligible ones. Universities would be established at the Presidency Head Quarters. They might introduce Honours courses and create professorial chairs for selected subjects. In fact, the establishment of universities and the gradation of schools meant an attempt to bring order out of chaos caused so long by unplanned and unequal growth of educational institutions. Under one controlling top, a *System of Education* was thus established.

As for administration of this system, the Despatch suggested (i) *autonomous administration of universities under acts of incorporation and the university's own rules and regulations, (ii) for administration at the lower stages it suggested the*

State Control of Education establishment of a Department of Education in each of the five provinces of the time, under a Director of Public Instruction (D. P. I.) helped by a platoon of School Inspectors. The Department would control Govt's educational endeavour. The Govt, however, would not maintain all the schools. A big role of non-official enterprise was recognised. The non-official (private) schools would be given grants-in-aid under salary, house building or development heads (as the practice even to-day is). The grants would, however, be subject to conditions viz. good secular education, local initiative and management, realisation of tuition fees, subjection to official inspection etc.

The nature of these provisions should be clearly understood. (i) Partnership between official and non-official agencies in educational enterprise was the essence of the provisions. (ii) Missionary claim to monopoly agency was rejected and thereby the scope was created for non-official Indian enterprise. This scope was profitably utilised by Indians in the succeeding years to attain predominance in enterprise. (iii) On the other hand, the responsibility of the Govt. was kept limited by the grants-in-aid system. It was further announced that the Govt's policy would be gradual withdrawal, leaving the field open to private initiative. (iv) By the insertion of pre-conditions to grants-in-aid the ultimate control, however, was retained in Govt hands. It boiled down to a policy of *control without responsibility*.

The principle of making grants as adopted in 1813 was changed in 1854. The policy of 1813 was to disburse specific amounts irrespective of the nature of enterprise. The policy of 1854 was to limit State obligation and to disburse unspecified amounts subject to conditions to be fulfilled by non-official agencies.

Stanley Despatch of 1859

No sooner had steps been taken to implement the Despatch of 1854 than the Mutiny of 1857 rocked the very foundation of the British Indian Empire. The frightened rulers apprehended that the Govt's intervention in education might have been one of the causes of the rebellion. In 1858, Lord Ellenborough ordered a freeze of

implementation of the provisions of Wood's Despatch. In 1859, however, Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State for India again ordered implementation with certain modifications. He opined that the grant-in-aid system was not fostering the cause of primary education. Better attention should be paid to that field with more schools and teacher-training institutions. To raise funds for primary education he suggested the imposition of education cess. Thus, apart from emphasis upon primary education and a system of cess, this despatch did not add anything new. It was rather a *supplement to the Despatch of 1854*.

Assessment of Wood's Despatch

Some historians characterised the Despatch as a *Magna Charta* of Indian education. Such superlative eulogy is not only undue over-estimation, but also reflects a wrong analogy. In spite of all its limitations, *Magna Charta* was a document of rights secured from an unwilling authority under duress. It laid the foundation of parliamentary prerogatives and the system of limited monarchy in England. The Despatch was *not a document of educational 'rights' of the Indian people, nor a promissory paper for state responsibility*. It was a Colonial Education Document of certain privileges granted by a foreign Govt. and that too with inherent limitations. The objective of education as defined in it was *education for servility of a colonial country*. It incorporated no ideal for universal literacy nor any state obligation. It promised no education for leadership, nor any for national regeneration or national productivity. Poverty still remained a bar to education. A centralised control of education inhibited the possibility of democratic initiative. A tight-jacket system inhibited the forces of flexibility. The system of Grants-in-aid forced the institutions to pursue a prefixed track providing no scope of variation or independent experimentations.

Yet the *positive features* of the Despatch cannot be denied. It was the first authoritative Parliamentary document of its nature. Even if Govt. "responsibility" was not admitted, its "duty" was squarely recognised. In spite of a hundred weaknesses, it *incorporated the objectives of education*, however much we may condemn them. It enunciated a *secular principle*, abandoned the filtration policy and adopted a *positive attitude towards mass education*. Scope of higher education was created for the meritorious

poor student inspite of all its limitations. An educational ladder was created in an integrated system. A vast scope was created for private enterprise. Above all, the anarchic efforts of non-official and official agencies during the preceding 50 years were now consolidated in a *system of education under centralised control*. From this consideration we may accept Lord Dalhousie's characterisation that the Despatch offered a scheme of education for all India, far wider and more com-

A fitting close to the second period of modern education prehensive than the local or supreme Govt. could have even ventured to suggest'. The Despatch, in fact, answered many questions raised by previous developments. Hence we may concur with the opinion of Mr James that "The Despatch of 1854 is thus the climax in the History of Indian Education: what goes before it leads up to it."

It should, however, by no means be construed that it established a national system of education. It was not a system established by a national Govt in the nation's interest, nor did it belong to the nation as a whole. It was a transplantation in the interest of a foreign ruler. A *system* was no doubt introduced. But it was a *State System by its intrinsic nature*.

Effects and Significance

India acquired freedom a century later than the time of the Despatch. Yet, the effect of the Despatch was alive throughout the period and we are even today not free from its influences. The influence of University education firmly established by the Despatch still holds good. The pattern of examination-dominated intel-

A Century long influence lectual, academic and bookish education introduced in those days swallowed the nation's intrinsic merit.

The Universities have not yet won the battle to be centres of "learning". The domination of the Entrance examination prefixed the curricula and methods. Teacher's freedom of experimentation was destroyed. University-oriented secondary education blocked the path of professional, vocational or elementary education.

Adverse effects The mother tongue was accorded a recognition. But the monopoly of English in higher education ensured its monopoly in secondary education also. A duality of control (between Govt. and University) was initiated. The bureaucratic system of inspection not only made external discipline rigid and stereotyped, but also caused

the loss of internal freedom. The state's responsibility was circumscribed and financial burden was transferred to the nation and the parents. This system of *state partnership and control* lives to date. This system of education with narrow aims unrelated to national interests and aspirations, in which the burden was borne by the nation while control vested in a foreign Govt. led to severe reactions which gave birth to the national education movement.

The most important truth, however, is that *the Despatch removed the obstacles to English Education* and created the scope for its expansion. Mental preparedness for the acceptance of Western Education had been developing since the last part of the 18th

Removal of
Obstacles to
English education

Century. After 1813, missionary and Indian enterprise had been steadily growing. But the absence of a firm educational policy of the State was a hindrance.

The first step towards removal of the hindrance had been taken in 1835. But opposition of the Orientalists still continued and language controversy did not die down. Missionary excesses generated a doubt in the minds of the conservatives. These obstacles were removed by Auckland's policy of partial financing of Oriental studies which pacified the old school. English was made the official language and given due weightage in employment. The obstacles were thus further removed.

Lastly in 1854, Missionary monopoly was disallowed. The principle of secular education and equal privileges for all agencies allayed the doubts and sensitiveness of Indians. The policy of aid to unofficial enterprise and to Muslim and Women's education as also to elementary education removed the residual obstacles and opened up the scope for rapid expansion of English Education.

CHAPTER IV

Dawn of National Consciousness in Education

In consequence of the Despatch of 1854, Departments of Education were established in the Provinces in 1856. Educational expenses were budgeted under two heads—(i) Direct maintenance of Govt. Schools, and (ii) Grants-in-aid to non-official schools. Grants were disbursed for school development, salaries, incentives (on the basis of performances in examinations) and also time-bound ad-hoc purposes. Under the auspices of the Govt, Presidency Colleges were conducted in Calcutta and Madras, and colleges were established at Lahore and Allahabad. The three Universities of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay were founded in 1857. The number was subsequently increased. More Universities were founded before 1882. The basic functions of the Universities were (i) Granting affiliation to schools and colleges, (ii) Determination of the courses of study, (iii) Conducting examinations, (iv) issuing diplomas and degrees to eligible candidates. Teaching and Research functions were late additions.

Missionary enterprise naturally occupied the most prominent position. Grants-in-aid to non-official schools were mostly channelled to missionary schools. Of course they also went it alone in certain cases. St X'avier's Colleges at Calcutta and Bombay, Foreman College at Lahore, Reed College at Lucknow, St Stephen College at Delhi were contributions of this period. Indian enterprise also gradually advanced to account for 65 colleges in 20 years. In the same period the number of secondary schools rose to 2000, although excessive weightage to Humanities and domination of English made secondary education a simple one-way traffic leading to University education. Education of girls, however, made some advance. By 1871, there were 137 middle and high schools for girls in India. Teacher-Training institutions were established. Professional education in Medicine, Law and Engineering made an advance so far as to have 18 colleges for such studies.

Although the Despatch had announced a policy of patronage to primary education, nothing substantial was immediately done. Roll strength in missionary primary schools far exceeded that in Govt schools. The total output of various agencies was 82916 primary

schools in India in 1880-82. Some improvements were made in text books and teaching methods. But Govt. policy in this field was not uniform in all the provinces. Indigenous schools dominated the field in Madras, Bengal-Assam etc. Govt schools were dominant in Bombay, N. W. Province, Panjab. A middle path was followed in the Central Provinces area. In Bengal, there were 28 Govt. primary schools, 47374 aided schools and 3205 unaided primary schools. The minor role of the Govt. is evident.

The biggest problem of primary education was that of finance (as it is today). Local Cess, Municipal Contributions, students' tuition fees and private donations were the sources of finance. With the object of a better utilisation of these sources, the administration of primary education was considerably liberalised and decentralised, whereby the provincial governments were made responsible. Lord Mayo's administration had inaugurated decentralisation in 1870. A cess varying between 1% and 7½% of land revenue was imposed. But resources were not strong enough to generate a momentum in primary education. In spite of the policy enunciated in the Despatch, the attitude of the Provincial Departments of Education did not foster a rapid expansion of mass education. But the impact of national consciousness accelerated Indian enterprise to an extent that missionary domination might be squarely challenged and the Govt's dilly-dally policy in sanctioning grants might also be questioned. A conflict, therefore, was inevitable because the nation had by that time, developed a positive attitude towards mass education.

The situation had come to such a pass that *there were two alternatives before the Govt*—either to acquire total responsibility or to withdraw totally from the field of education. In the absence of a firm policy, there were two contradictory developments—(a) the field of secondary and collegiate education was captured mainly by non-official agencies and (b) vocational education, primary education and indigenous schools languished. Quantitative progress had no doubt been made, but even in 1881-82, 75% male and 84% female population of school going age in India remained untouched. In the backward provinces the figures remained 92% and about 100% respectively.

Growth of Political Consciousness .

But this situation could not be perpetual because socio-economic forces had been advancing fast. British Imperialism, in the most

successful period of the Victorian Era, had been enjoying hey-day. But British liberalism scarcely moved beyond the Suez. The failure of the Mutiny had made the Indian Princes subservient junior partners of imperialism. The failure of the Wahabi Movement and the Mutiny destroyed the last bastion of Indian Muslims who had so long been inimical. Their boycott of Western education was terminated under the leadership of Sir Syed Ahmed, the founder of the Aligarh College and Aligarh Movement.

Aligarh Movement

As said earlier, the Muslims had a serious reservation about British rule in India. The British power had replaced the Mughul power. English language replaced Persian as the state language. The Muslims considered themselves victims and had been in a sullen mood. The Hindus, on the other hand, had accepted western education and language. Most of the new type schools were meant for Hindu children. Educated Hindus had been securing employment under the state. Voluntary quarantine which had been a feature of Muslim society had kept them out of the focus of advantages.

Sir Syed Ahmed wanted to infuse a revivalism in the Muslim community by reforming Islamic religious rituals, by fighting superstitions, by introducing social reforms and by spreading modern Western education amongst the Muslims. He undertook a voyage to England and after his return therefrom founded the "Anglo-Oriental College" at Aligarh. The principal and most of the teachers of the college were Europeans. They gradually caused the infiltration of communal passion into this socio-educational movement.

It was nothing wrong on the part of Syed Ahmed to initiate a socio-educational movement amongst Muslims just as Rammohan had done amongst Hindus. He started the Anglo-Oriental College just as Rammohan had started his Anglo-Vedic College. If Rammohan cannot be condemned, Syed Ahmed too cannot be. In fact, the benefit was utilised by Muslim middle classes. An India-wide trend in favour of Aligarh-like efforts and the turning of all mid-class Muslim eyes to Aligarh came to be known as "Aligarh Movement". This movement too failed to reach the life and thought of the poor Muslim masses and remained limited to upper and middle class Muslim interest. But the emphasis placed here upon study of the scriptures, theological texts, Islamic history, language and tradition introduced

a new element in our educational orbit. It is to be noted that during Khilafat—Non-cooperation movement, the boycott of official education started here when a group of nationalist students and teachers seceded to establish the Jamiat-i-Ulami.

British administration worked from within the college and from without it to make it a communal education movement. In fact, the non-Muslims had so long been in close contact with the administration. But they had already shown their rebellious mood. With a communal and "divide and rule" vision, the Govt began to champion the cause of education of the Muslims.

Whatever might have been the political motives been, the objective fact remains clear that the Govt began to attend specifically to the question of education of the Muslims. This found expression in the recommendations of the Hunter Commission. The intransigence of Muslims having thus ended, it seemed apparently that Her Majesty's Administration in India had no more thorny problems.

But simultaneously with this complete victory of British imperialism there was the birth of Indian national consciousness which very soon found an organised shape leading to the freedom movement. The English-educated gentry of India had not joined the rebellion of 1857. But tyranny and illiberalism of British administration during and after the rebellion was an eye-opener. The middle classes became disillusioned to a great extent. *National consciousness dawned and the ideal of self-determination found roots.* Between 1858 and 1880, the situation developed very fast. A series of fast-moving incidents enhanced the consciousness by degrees. The Indigo Agitation, the formation of Patriots' Association, the Hindu Mela, the growth of agitational societies of Indians in Bombay, Madras, Panjab, the agitation against lowering of age limit for I.C.S. Examination, Protest against Govt apathy to devastating famines causing the death of millions, agitation against spending Indian Revenue for expansionist imperialist wars, and agitation against Arms Act and Vernacular Press Act were but few incidents in the passage of history. The Indian Association was formed in 1876. The Ilbert Bill agitation was conducted and a call was issued for the formation of a National Organisation, which materialised in the shape of the Indian National Congress (1885).

The period between 1858 and 1885 was a period of growing restlessness of the educated Indian mind. The Govt sensed the danger and

wanted to stem the tide by an *innocent dose of reforms*, apparently characterising it as the first step towards autonomy. Reform of Local Self Govt, including an elective principle was this dose of reform.

Growth of national consciousness produced a desire to educate the nation. This urge, together with grants-in aid, caused a rapid expansion of higher education. Attention of the educated gentry was turned to education of the "*people*". A clear consciousness of a "national system" of education as against a "colonial system" could not be expected so early. *But dissatisfaction was generated*, the worth-whileness of education given by foreigners began to be questioned and impediments to the expansion of education were sought to be removed. Indianisation of educational administration was naturally demanded. The Govt felt the strain of these developments and the *stage became ready for a dose of educational concessions too*.

Other developments must not be lost sight of. The first Cotton Mill in India was established in 1853 at Bombay. The first Jute Mill was established at Rishra in quick succession. British Capital was invested in Plantation Industry. A railway network developed fast. Agency Houses became very active. The need was felt for skilled labour and commercial clerks. Secondary education, which had so long been absolutely academic, required a practical slant (in the interest of profit-earning industries mostly incorporated in England). *Educational reforms were called for.*

Hunter Commission : its Background

Application of Wootton-pole, led immediately to fresh problems. The questions of Govt. attitude to indigenous schools, imposition of education cess or tax, primary education's claim to state finances, and the status of the missionaries caused conflicts. The Despatch had not accorded monopoly agency to the missionaries, but they were the strongest entrepreneurs in the field. They opposed the policy of secular education. But, they had now to face a growing intransigence of Indians. Controversies about contents of text books, school inspection, grant-in-aid principle featured as conflicting issues. The missionaries sent an S.O.S. appeal to England in 1877 where their cause was taken up by the General Council of Education in India formed in 1876. As against this, Indian opinion now found a shape. These problems together with others discussed earlier created the need for a thorough

survey of the Indian field of Primary and Secondary education. *The outcome was the institution of the first Indian Education Commission under W. W. Hunter (1880-82).*

The terms of reference were wide. The Commission had to assess the effects of the policy of 1854. It was called upon to (i) assess the importance and position of Govt., Missionary and Indian enterprise in education, (ii) formulate a policy on primary education, women's education, Muslims' education and the fate of indigenous schools, (iii) Consider the problems of religious instruction, text book, language and teacher preparation, (iv) formulate principles in regard to financing and administration of education. Although the fields of technical education, university education and education of Europeans were kept out of the Commission's perview, it had to express positive opinion in some respects.

The Commission, however, had a number of Indians on it, including Bhudev Mukherjee and Ananda mohan Bose.

Hunter Commission Report

The recommendations incorporated in Hunter Commission's illuminating report were :—

A. The policy of 1854 had not been implemented in letter and spirit in all the provinces. It offered a fresh advice that *Govt. should gradually withdraw* from the field of secondary education in favour of non-official enterprise, and primary education should immediately be transferred to the care of non-official agencies. The Grant-in-aid Code should be amended on a more liberal basis.

B. *Education should be secular* in Govt schools. No aids should be given to non-official schools for religious instruction. Attendance of students would not be compulsory if any school provided religious instruction. As an alternative to religious instruction there should be provisions for *moral instruction* about the duties of man and citizen. The 'School Book Society' should be responsible for text books. Thus the *missionary claims were defeated*. Moreover, the Commission opined that *non-official enterprise should mean non official Indian enterprise which should have the greatest claim to Govt. finances.*

C. The mother tongue should be the medium of instruction at the primary stage. Managers of Middle Schools might elect either English or mother tongue. Nothing explicit was said about the secondary

stage. Obviously English continued to be the medium. And predominance of English at collegiate and secondary levels made the option allowed for the middle-school stage practically infructuous. Hence, the *domination of English remained as before*.

D. In certain other respects, the Commission's views were positive. It wanted to make professional training a precondition to permanent appointment to teaching posts. Positive recommendations were made in regard to the education of women, Muslims, backward people, training institutions for women teachers, a separate inspectorate for women's education etc.

E. Very positive suggestions were made in regard to the nature and curricular organisation of secondary schools. It proposed *two equivalent and parallel courses*—'A' course for academic studies and 'R' course for practically oriented studies. This would include 'commerce' courses also. There came forth a suggestion for termination of the 100 year long tradition of the monopoly of academic studies. Practical effects, however, were negligible. Yet, this was the dawn of 'diversification in secondary education. The Commission could not take stock of higher education. Yet, its suggestion about diversified secondary education made it suggest the introduction of diverse studies in Universities.

F. Most important recommendations were made in respect of primary education. The commission *redefined indigenous schools* as those established by Indians and conducted by them in Indian style. The popularity of these schools made them worthy of state benefaction. In return for state-aid, these schools should open their doors to all, irrespective of caste or creed. More aid and an Indian Inspectorate were prominent recommendations. Aid should be reciprocal to 'result'.

G. For the *qualitative improvement* of primary education the commission recommended a reorganised curriculum including Mathematics, Accountancy, Mensuration, Natural Science, Agriculture, Handicraft, Physical Exercise etc. so that primary education might be life-oriented education through vernacular medium. Practical lessons should be imparted in agriculture and the sciences. There should be flexibility in the selection of text books, the school time-table and standards. The schools should be adjusted with local life. More Normal Schools should be provided.

H. Planning, management, maintenance and administration of primary schools should *vest in Local Self Govt Bodies*. Local funds from cess should be earmarked for primary education alone and $\frac{1}{3}$ of total expenditure should come as subsidy from state exchequer. To guard against preferential treatment of urban areas, the Commission suggested separate funds for urban and rural areas. The entire cost of inspection and teacher-training should be borne by the state.

The Commission had received many representations and memoranda demanding compulsory primary education. It stopped short of that, but made far reaching recommendations about expansion, flexibility, diversity and linkage with life. The *policy of financial aid on the basis of examination-results*, as enunciated by the Commission however, *militated against all these positive recommendations*.

Evaluation and Effect

Hunter Commission's recommendations included *both positive and negative features*. Recognition of the priority of Indian enterprise meant an attempt to narrow down state responsibility. Patronage to indigenous schools remained a pious wish. The Local Bodies with responsibilities, but without sufficient resources, were destined to fail. The scope of vernacular education remained still limited. The principle of *payment by result* operated against the cause of mass education.

But *positive features were many*. Diversified studies at university stage and parallel courses in secondary education were new concepts. Positive recommendations for the education of women, Muslims etc. were worthy. The principle of secular education was unequivocally restated. Improvements in primary education were concretely suggested. Local Control created the scope of mass education. And recognition of the priority of Indian enterprise created the scope of rapid expansion of education.

Hunter Commission removed the last obstacles to the expansion of Western education. Its recommendations, combined with political consciousness of Indians, led to rapid expansion of education so that by 1901-02, the number of colleges conducted by Indians became 42, as against 37 conducted by missionaries. The urge for higher education expanded. The universities swelled. But the absence of practical education made higher education simply one-sided education in the

Humanities. There was a rapid expansion of women's education too. The numbers of girls' colleges, schools, primary schools and training institutions became 12, 422, 5305 and 45 respectively in 1901-02. The Aligarh Movement facilitated the expansion of Muslim education.

At the secondary stage, the 'B' course was introduced in various provinces, but it attained only limited success. While 'A' course candidates in 1901-02 were 23000, 'B' course candidates were only 2000. This failure had some objective causes. 'Indian' investments in industry and commerce had still been negligible. Moreover the 'B' course was not a genuine course for industrial vocations. *Even Indian opinion in those days had not been free from the illusion of academic studies and black-coated professions.* 'B' course education was scarcely considered as real "education". That is why general education at secondary stage recorded rapid progress. In 1901-02, there were 5214 schools against 3916 in 1891. Indian enterprise led the field. In fact, the Missionaries had to admit defeat. They continued to nurse the previously established institutions. But their attention was now turned more to the tribal areas. *The "Missionary problem" was thus solved.*

Sufficient change ensued in the field of primary education. The Self-Govt bodies formed in pursuance of Lord Ripon's Local Self-Govt Act of 1882 were given responsibility of primary education. Their resources were earmarked and grant-in-aid rules were changed. Improvements were effected in school buildings, curriculum and methods. Girls were admitted as also were some Harijans. Better teachers were recruited. But the indigenous schools were not patronised in practice. Moreover, the principle of payment by results affected the expansion of primary education. The teachers began to pay more attention to examinations and strict promotions. Wastage and stagnation increased.

Moreover, *the Self-Government bodies had their inherent weakness.* Lord Ripon himself had declared that local self-Government did not mean decentralisation of power. The powers and resources of these bodies were limited. The public representatives were inexperienced. These institutions, born through 'concessions' *could not attain genuine popularity.* In many provinces, the powers delegated were very limited in span and depth and the State Grants were insufficient. Sometimes, the budget for primary education was diverted to other purposes.

Despite these limitations, it must be admitted that *although the Indian Education Commission could not initiate any new education policy, it removed the obstacles, untied many knots and created conditions for very rapid expansion of education* by supplementing the Despatch of 1854. Some new light was thrown on some issues of public interest. And it will be no exaggeration to say that *modern primary education owes a great debt to the commission led by W. W. Hunter*. It can at the same time be admitted that the growth of national spirit generated a new consciousness which influenced the deliberations and suggestions of the Commission.

CHAPTER V

National Education Movement

As seen earlier, *there were two contradictory forces in the field of education in the last part of the 19th Century*. On the one hand, Western education spread rapidly, while on the other hand a discontent against that education found rapid expression. This was enhanced by the growth of the national movement after 1885. The missionaries were defeated in the race although they established first grade colleges at Indore, Sialkot, Karpar, Rawalpindi etc. *A new type of idealists* now replaced them. They constituted a band of idealist Indian educational workers. B. G. Tilak's Fergusson College at Poona (1882), D.yanand Anglo-Vedic college of Arya Samaj at Lahore (1886), Annie Besant's Central Hindu College at Benares (1898) were a few of the new-type institutions with a new spirit. The founders were inspired by a patriotic urge.

Apart from these famous institutions founded by famous men, there had been a general expansion of schools and colleges consequent upon the atmosphere of patriotism, acceptance of educational work as a national work and utilisation of more liberal grants-in-aid after Hunter Commission's work. There is no denying the fact that rapid expansion of mono-type education transformed the Universities into affiliating and certifying machines. One-way and examination-dominated education caused erosion of standards. Educated Indians had so long been almost assured of employment in clerical or administrative offices. But now the situation began to change.

Colonial economy did not provide for multiple avenues. The employment market failed to keep pace with educational expansion (as the situation even to-day is). The problem of unemployment of the educated began to rear its head. Lord Lansdowne sounded a note of warning as early as 1889 that expansion of higher education at the then rate would precipitate a crisis of unemployment before long. The educated Indian gentry began to feel the pinch that the wrong lay in the system and pattern of education planted by a foreign ruler and unrelated to the real life of the nation and her aspirations. *In this context developed the urge for a national pattern of education.*

Revivalism & Extremism

The consciousness had a gradual growth since the days of Hindu Mela or National Mela. The Arya Samaj (1875) propagated the ideal of life and culture as had been rooted in Vedic civilisation. The

Theosophical Society (1878) propagated the Indian
 Emergence of ideal of life. Rajendralal Mitter's Saraswat Samaj,
 New Thoughts Keshab Chandra Sen's Brahmo Vidyalaya,

Dayanand Saraswati's Anglo-Vedic College, Sraddhananda's Gurukul at Hardwar—propagated the ideal of ancient Indian education. From its inception in 1885 the National Congress demanded educational reforms. In response to the call of Vivekananda, the Ramkrishna Mission (1897) took up the cause of man-making education. And Rabindranath's "Sikshar Herfer" condemned the lifeless system of Western education. The Dawn Society of Satish Mukherjee propagated the cause of education according to India's genius. It was widely felt that a foreign system of education, unrelated with Indian traditions and life was inimical to India's system of values. This education had denationalised, despiritualised and dehumanised the educated Indians. It created a new class contradiction in society, and suppressed national urge. Even from the official platform of the University, Sir Goorudas Banerjee declared that the official system of education did not satisfy India's needs.

Cultural Revivalism was associated with political extremism. It was natural for a country (with rich traditions) smarting under foreign rule and with a bleak future, to look back and draw inspiration from past achievements for its endeavour to break through. This was the essence of cultural revivalism which was used by political extremism.

The Congress had since its foundation been led by Moderates pursuing "prayer-petition please" policy. Before long it was realised that prayer-politics must end and a policy of mass-agitational movement adopted. This new thought in politics represented mostly by younger leaders from Bengal, Maharashtra and Panjab came to be known as extremism. *The challenge of extremism prepared the ground for a movement for educational reforms.*

As said earlier, the new trend in education was associated with related trends in social and religious reforms. The ideas and views of the leaders of these movements should, therefore, be profitably referred to.

Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj

Rammohan Roy had established his Brahmo Sabha in 1828. The Raja, however, had not completely withdrawn reliance upon the Vedas. Debendranath Tagore, who later joined and led the movement since 1843, had also openly declared the Vedas as a divine revelation. But the younger Brahmos like Akshoy Kumar Datta were critical of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Vedas. This view was strengthened by Keshab Chandra Sen who conducted hectic propaganda campaigns in Madras and Bombay where also the Brahmo movement spread. The conflict of ideas led to the division of the Brahmo Samaj into conservative and liberal factions, the former leading the "*Adi Brahmo Samaj*" and the latter "*The Brahmo Samaj of India*".

Although Keshab Sen fostered the cause of education, he was soon proved a conservative within his own group. He held moderate views on female education and female emancipation. In his opinion, higher university education would not be suitable for women, and free mingling of men and women, or the total abolition of the Purdah was fraught with grave danger to society. The younger rebels, therefore, formed the "*Sadharan Brahmo Samaj*" in 1878. They advanced a radical programme of social reforms including removal of Purdah, widow remarriage, and provision of higher education. The cause of education, thus, received a new spurt which influenced the Hindu Society also.

"*The Prarthana Samaj*" which had deep roots in Maharashtra owed a heavy debt to Justice Mahadev Govinda Ranade. Instead of religious reforms, the chief attention of this organisation was devoted to social reforms viz remarriage of widows, improvement of the lot of women and depressed classes. It established asylums, orphanages, and above all the Deccan Education Society (1884). Education in South India received a spurt in consequence of the activities of this samaj. The society started with the idea that the education of the young should be remodelled so as to fit them for the service of the country which the existing system of education had failed to perform. The members of the society undertook to serve for at least twenty years on a nominal salary (Rs. 75/- to start with). That is why it was possible to start the famous Fergusson college in Poona and Willingdon college at Sangli, with a number of feeder schools. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was a life-member of the society.

The Hindu revival movement owed largely to the Theosophical

society which worked extensively in South India. Its most outspoken leader was Mrs. *Annie Besant*.

Arya Samaj and Ramkrishna Mission

The Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj were largely inspired by Western ideas, particularly the idea of Nationalism. Two other reforming movements received their inspiration from India's past and derived their basic principles from her ancient scriptures.

The Arya Samaj was founded by *Dayanand Saraswati* (1824-1883) who hailed from Kathiawar, an able Sanskrit scholar without English education. However, he adopted the Puranas and adopted the motto—"Go back to the Vedas". He wanted to shape society and education on the model of the Vedas. He was vehemently against casteism, child-marriage, polytheism, etc. He encouraged widow-re-marriage and education of women. He, however, lacked a critical attitude to the extent that he claimed that a scientific principle or thought conceived only of modern origin might be proved to have been set forth in the Vedas. On the whole, however, his "Commentaries on the Vedas" and "Satyarth Prakash" caused a tremendous impact upon the people. Moreover, Dayananda preached directly to the masses in a language understandable to them, and did not confine his teachings to an intellectual elite. He could, thus, sweep the masses in the Panjab and United Province.

Dayananda's work was continued after his death by his followers like *Lala Hansraj*, *Pandit Guru Dutt*, *Lala Laxpat Rai*, and *Swami Sraddhananda*. The Arya Samaj movement could not escape the influences of modern ideas and western sciences. A faction recognised the value of English education of a more liberal nature. Its chief exponent was *Lala Hansraj* and its most important symbol the *Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College* at Lahore. Another faction led by *Swami Sraddhananda* continued to seek the revival of Vedic ideal in modern life. Their creation was the famous *Gurukul of Hardwar*, founded in 1902.

The *Ramkrishna Mission* also stood for religious and social reforms and received its inspiration from the ancient culture of India. Its greatest strength was its belief in the truth of all religions. Hence it aimed at the development of the highest spirituality inherent in man. Without exhibiting any aggressive proselytising zeal, the mission remained a monastic order disseminating reforming ideas and pursuing

a programme of social service and philanthropic work. It opened many schools to uplift the manhood of India, spurred by the inspiration of Swami Vivekananda.

Vivekananda and Bankim Chandra

It is a famous observation of Swami Vivekananda that, "Education is the manifestation of perfection already in man. Like fire in a piece of flint, knowledge exists in the mind. Suggestion is the friction which brings it out." In his educational ideas, the first concern was the body. He wanted the exercise of mind to establish control over the senses and to instil ethical values. The need was concentration, which again required Brahmacharya and chastity. By Brahmacharya one could acquire unfailing memory.

The Swamiji stood for (i) formation of habits, (ii) will force as the key to character, (iii) "Sraddha", (iv) self reliance. (He said, "He is an atheist who does not believe in himself"), (v) Healthy influence of nature (vi) healthy influence of the teacher in a residential Asramik school, (vii) collective life of students, (viii) social service.

His religion was religion of humanism, optimism and peace. He, therefore, did not stand for a conservative doctrinaire education. Education of the masses was what he preached. He observed, "our great national sin is the neglect of the masses and that is the cause of our downfall. No amount of politics would be of any avail untill the masses of India are once more well educated, well fed, and well cared for." He stood for mass education through the mother tongue with history, geography, literature, science, general knowledge as curricular subjects. He favoured the utilisation of the mass media of culture. He decried the degradation of women caused by priestly dictum against women's right to recite the Vedas. Hence he favoured women's monasteries with girls' schools and advocated a curriculum consisting of language and literature, grammar, a bit of English together with cooking, needle work, mother craft etc.

Vivekananda had also an eye turned to the future. Hence he could say, "we need technical education and all else which may develop industries, so that men, instead of seeking for service, may earn enough to provide for themselves and save something against a rainy day." Technical education should be combined with academic studies, including the classics. At the same time he wanted art to be combined with utility.

Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, the Rishi of Banermataram, also sang the praise of manhood. In his opinion, manhood is determined by adjusted development of instincts. Happiness of man lies in manhood. This happiness comes through Dharma. Education is a part of Dharma. Human powers are divided into (1) Physical and (2) Mental aspects of life. Fulfilment of both is a guarantee to manhood. In the collegiate education of the day no attention was paid to the body, which caused the failure of the mind. Jnan, Karma and Emotional feeling are the three aspects of development. The education of the day placed emphasis only on the first. The need was equal emphasis on all of them.

Satish Chandra : The Dawn : The Dawn Society

The simultaneous development of propaganda and constructive work came from Satish Chandra Mukherjee. He upheld the ideals of secularism, atheism, social service and the religion of humanity. Satis Chandra and Ashutosh Mukherjee had been class mates in South Suburban School when Shivanath Sastri was the Headmaster. He was also a class-mate of Vivekananda for a while in Presidency College. Satis Mukherjee and Ashutosh Mukherjee joined a students' demonstration in protest against the arrest of Surendranath Banerjee in 1883.

In 1895, Satish Chandra established the *Bhagawat Chatuspathi* with Durga Charan Sankhya Vedantatirtha as Headmaster. The causes behind this initiative had been (i) a sense of inadequacy of the system of university education, (ii) failure of that system to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the nation, (iii) its failure to equip the students with industrial and technical training.

The traditional Tol was the model for the Bhagawat Chatuspathi. But its objective was not only spiritual knowledge but also study of western sciences, philosophy and industrial arts. The plan was to develop it as a free Hindu Public Religious Institution, open to all outsiders, to offer facilities to study Hindu philosophy and Sastras in original. It was to be residential with two classes (i) for prospective teachers, (ii) for laymen interested in spiritual culture. The subjects of study were Sankhya, Vedanta, Brahma Sutra, Nyaya, Smriti, Itihasa. The chhatuspatti attracted aged students already famous in other fields. Some of its students were Ramesh Chandra Mitra,

Motilal Ganguly, Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Among the residential students were Haran Chakladar and Akshoy Kumar Sastri.

The Dawn (founded in 1867) was originally started as organ of the *chatuspathi*, although in the course of its life it became the organ of the Dawn Society and lastly of the Swadeshi Movement. It was sought to be made a vehicle of higher western and eastern culture. It published higher religious or philosophical writings as well as articles on science, history, economics, sociology. The list of contributors included Mahendralal Sarkar, Jadunath Sarkar, Brojendranath Seal, Hirendranath Datta, Bepin Chandra Paul, Radha Kumud Mukherjee, Sister Nivedita and Mrs. Annie Besant who wrote particularly on educational problems.

In 1902, the paper was made an organ of the "*Dawn Society Education Movement*." Its motto was "To love the country we must know the country." It, therefore, published various types of articles on history, geography, demography, regional specialities of India and Bengal etc. The 'students' section' among the contributors to which were Rajendra Prasad and Surendranath Das Gupta, inspired sociological and economic studies.

From 1907 the Dawn became an organ of Indian Nationalism. It reflected the cultural and economic aspects of nationalism as also National Education. It vigorously promoted researches in ancient Indian history and culture, arts, architecture, maritime enterprise etc.

The "*Dawn Society*" was formed as an action-wing of the Dawn. After Lord Curzon's convocation address of 1902, Satish Chandra's article "An examination into the present system of University Education in India and a scheme of Reforms" created a stir. After the formation of the University Commission (1902), other articles on education were written by Rabindranath Tagore, Brojendranath Seal, Surendranath Banerjee, Ramananda Chatterjee, Ramendrasunder Trivedi, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Hrampha Chandra Maitra etc.

The aims and objectives of the Dawn Society were (i) impartation of religious and moral instruction to college students, (ii) Supplementation of even the ordinary academic education given in colleges. It held discussion classes, conversation classes, social meetings, reading of select books, interviews of younger members with older members. The society also invited erudite personalities viz. Rabindranath, Dinesh Chandra Sen, Brahmabandhab Upadhyay, Nivedita etc. to deliver lectures,

The character of the Dawn Society was also interesting. It was (i) a product of private initiative unconnected with the Calcutta University or the Govt's department of education, (ii) wholly a students' organisation i.e. by students who had a brilliant academic career and realised the inadequacy of the official pattern of education, (iii) non political institution of culture and nationalism, and it had (iv) a voluntary and gratuitous character. Its patrons and donors included Rashbehari Ghosh, Gurusdas Banerji, Chaudramanohar Ghosh, Astur Sen Mukherjee, Manindra Chandra Nandi, Brojendra Kishore Sen Choudhury, Sister Nivedita, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Prafulla Chandra Roy, Harindra Nath Dutta, Rabindranath Tagore, Nilratan Sarker.

The Society conducted classes in a general education and also in an Industrial section to provide vocational training. Exhibition of its industrial products drew public attention. In 1905, the society organised elementary lessons in modern education, technology, inventions, planning, finance, co-operation, etc. at its plants and factories. The members expected that the Calcutta University could be turned into a national university. But they had, under pressure of circumstances, to unite the National Education Movement in which Satish Chandra Mukherjee was a leading spirit.

Mrs. Annie Besant

Mrs Annie Besant, a leading light of the Theosophical Society joined the said society in 1889 and settled in India in 1893. Apart from social service and reforms, she also played a vital part in the political movement of the period. During the First World War, she (together with Tilak and others) organised the Home Rule Movement and was elected to the Presidency of the National Congress. Her special field of work, however, was education. Mrs Besant held that the problems of India could be solved by the revival and re-introduction of the ancient ideal and institutions. In her autobiography she writes, "The Indian work is, first of all, the revival, strengthening and uplifting of the ancient religions. This will bring with it a new self respect, a pride in the past, a belief in the future, and, as an inevitable result, a great wave of patriotic life, the beginning of the rebuilding of a nation."

Besant was a contributor to the Dawn and often wrote on educational problems. She, in co-operation with *Pandit Madan Mohan*

Malavya started the Central Hindu School in Benares as chief means of achieving her objective. She lavished her resources and energy on this institution, which gradually developed into a college and ultimately into the Hindu University in 1915. During 1905-07, she carried on an extensive propaganda campaign against the repressive measures of the government against students. Even in 1908 in her public speeches she outlined her idea of a National University. By that time views were in the camp of National Education Movement were sharply divided. In this controversy, Mrs Basant wanted to see the colleges supported by National University while the able leaders of the movement like Bal Gangadhar Tilak sacrificed the cause of the National Congress in Calcutta. She was the ultimate decisioner, though, in favour of the Mr. P. P. Chatterjee for the revolution in education. It was a great force of and inspiration to the National Education Movement.

Sir Gurudas Banerjee

Prof. A. and the first system of education came not only from revivalists and agitators but also from persons who were closely linked with the official system. Sir Gordon B. Barrow, who was appointed Vice-Chancellor the first India Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University in 1890, was one such person. He was associated with Bengiya Sahitya Parishad (1894) and was a member of the 5-man sub-committee to devise the inclusion of Bengali language and literature in the Calcutta University syllabus.

Sir Gooradas did not keep himself engaged in theorising and philosophising only. He discovered various aspects of extension of discussing his views. As a member of the Universities Commission of 1902 he recorded a note of dissent on some aspects of the report of the said commission. In his 'Few Thoughts on Education' (1904) he delineated his ideas on the basic and vocational educational system, vocational education, technological education and domestic education. In 'Shiksha' (1907), comprising six chapters, he discussed the aims of education, the student, the teacher, the curriculum, the methods of teaching. His ideas were further elaborated in 'Jnan-o Karma' (1910). In "The Educational Problems of India" (1914) Sir Gooradas explained his ideas of educational reforms.

The diagnosis of India's educational ailments as made by Sir Goorudas Banerjee from the official position of Vice Chancellor and

openly ventilated from the official pulpit during convocations was educative enough. In his convocation address of 1890^{*} he made particular reference to the need for ethics in academic and social life. In the next convocation address he said explicitly that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction and the University must encourage women's education. He also said, "I fully see the importance and necessity of technical education. In the days of keen competition and hard struggle for existence, unless we can utilise and improve the products of nature, and unless our artisans are trained in the application of science to art, we can never hope for the material prosperity of the country."

In his convocation address of 1892, Sir Goorudas touched upon many vital points of education. Firstly, he placed emphasis upon physical education. "Any attempt to improve the mind without invigorating the vital energy would be like an attempt to increase the efficiency by mere internal adjustment, without supplying adequate motive power," said he. On the system of examination he said, "Examination, like fire, is a good servant, but a bad master it should serve as a test for diligent and thoughtful study, instead of making study serve its peculiar requirements." About the medium of instruction he said, "One great reason why our university education fails to awaken much original thinking, is because it is imparted through the medium of a difficult foreign language—the costly foreign drapery in which our students have to clothe their thoughts, taxes their limited mental resources to an extent which does not leave enough for the proper feeding and fostering of thought." Again he said, "The majority of students are so completely ground down by the weight of the burden imposed upon them, that they find no opportunity of exercising their own powers, and they feel little pleasure in their study."

Sir Goorudas Banerjee, thus, unequivocally criticised many of the glaring defects of the then existing system of education. It helped the cause of an educational reform movement which was to start very soon. And when the movement started, he became closely related with the National Council of Education. He, however, had his reservations about the political bias and implications of the movement. He wanted it not to be linked with politics. His opinion was—"the national system of education would not run contrary to the official system." But such an opinion was expressed also by many other moderate leaders of the time.

Sri Aurovinda Ghosh

Although Aurovinda Ghosh became "Sri Aurovindo" at a later time and although he resigned from the service of the Baroda State and accepted Principalship of the National College in 1906, he had been developing his educational thoughts from before that time and had been conversant with the goings on in Calcutta, particularly the activities of Satish Mukerjee and the Dawn. His early educational thoughts, however, developed in a period covering a few years before 1905 and the years of the National Education movement and thereafter.

The aim of education according to Aurovinda Ghosh is to prepare man for a Divine Life. He says, "Man, the individual, is a conscious manifestation in Nature of the Universal self and spirit." Man, in his opinion, cultivated in him a mental, an intellectual, an ethical dynamic and practical, an aesthetic and hedonistic, a vital and physical being and at the summit of his ascent he rises to something greater than them all, into a spiritual being. Our cultural conception of humanity must be in accordance with our nation's ancient vision of the universal manifestation in the human race. In his opinion, therefore, true education will be only that which will be an instrument for the real working of the spirit in the mind and body of the individual and the nation.

The aim of education, according to Sri Aurovinda, is to help the fruition of the human spirit and therefore to strengthen those powers which would help spiritual progress. He says, "...nothing can be taught. The teacher is not an instructor or task master, he is a helper and a guide...He does not impart knowledge to him (pupil), he shows him how to acquire knowledge for himself." His second principle is that the mind has to be consulted in its own growth without any predetermination. He says, "Everyone has in him something divine,...the task is to find it, develop and use it. The chief aim of education should be to help the growing soul to draw out that in itself which is best and make it perfect for a noble use." Elsewhere he says that the body itself must reach perfection through the formation of healthy habits. He wanted a well formed and graceful body attainable through free exercise and games which would also help impart a spirit of cooperation and sportsmanship and guard against undesirable emotions and sexual perversions. He also placed

emphasis upon character-formation and development of aesthetic taste. This is best possible in a healthy environment.

In "A system of National Education" Sri Aurobinda says, "You can impose a certain discipline on children, dress them into a certain mould, lash them into a desired path, but unless you can get their hearts and natures on your side, the conformity becomes a cowardly compliance." In the matter of moral education he suggests personal example, books with lofty examples, great thoughts of great souls, records of history and biography. He says, "The real-virtue of the dynamic and vital being, the Life Purusha, can only come by his finding a higher law and spirit for his activity within him self."

Sri Aurobinda particularly emphasises the education of the mind which would be not only the intellectual but the aesthetic. Cultural goals would be the best individual goal and association with others and learning from them would be the best way to attain. He condemned unassimilated memorisation and upheld the proper acquisition of stored human knowledge, discovery of new knowledge, application of knowledge. Then we should have a continuous formation of concepts, assimilation of old and new knowledge and application of it, through the operation of intelligence.

All the aspects of Sri Aurobinda's educational thought had not developed before the birth of the national education movement. But the growing process of his thought helped the said movement with which he subsequently became vitally related as the first Principal of the National College.

Rabindranath Tagore

The man, who simultaneously with Sushil Chandra Mukherjee contributed effectively towards the growth of ideas and also participated in the national education movement was Rabindranath Tagore. His addresses at different meetings of students and adults made his views clear. "Sikshar Her-Per" was published in the 'Sadhana' in 1892. Here he pointed out the dichotomy between life and education caused by English education. Instead of creative and progressive adjustment with life, the then education imparted only bookish knowledge, and that too in a foreign language. They fail to assimilate the truth and the beauty. The real 'meaning' remains hidden and unrealised. There is starvation of body and mind. It causes the loss of the power of thinking, imagination and discovery. These were the baneful effects

of the bondage of foreign education through a foreign language. The result is complete lack of connection between life and education.

If a satisfactory shape of the mind may be processed from boyhood and if sufficient value is attached to thinking and imagination (instead of dependence upon rote and formal examination) and if the learning matter be presented in proper sequence with chronological growth of the learner, the child may sail happily to boyhood and thence to adolescence and ultimately to adulthood. Only this may straighten the spine which is otherwise bent under heavy pressure of inert loan.

Language and concept must develop together. But in a system of education through a foreign language, the growth and expression of concept is obstructed by the labour spent in learning the language. And when the language is learnt, the mind fails to offer the concept or expression. This happens due to dichotomy between life and language.

In an address to the students in 1905 Rabindranath said that a total education was possible by a combination of modern western knowledge and the freedom of spirit in the national context. Unfortunately, in the then system of education the native land remained totally unknown to them. Instead of bookish patriotism, the students should learn to love their country by being acquainted with her through their acquaintance with the country's language, literature, history and sociology. What the students read must be experienced in life. If not they should apply themselves to a limited known space of experienced environment.

And lastly Tagore advised the students to prepare themselves for service to the nation. They must hold high an ideal of life attainable not by self gratification but by self-sacrifice and service. Patriotism, in his opinion did not mean agitation and oratory. It meant knowing and loving the country and serving the fellow countrymen. He, therefore, desired the students to order their life as the students in ancient India had done in the Tapovanas under the guiding spirit of the Rishis of old. With this objective he established the Brahmacharyasram at Santiniketan.

These views of Rabindranath, as also the views of other thinkers of the time irrigated the field for a movement of educational reform. When the 'mind' of the people was thus gradually prepared, the question of the partition of Bengal and its aftermath supplied the flint for ignition.

Other factors were not wanting. British administration had made some industrial development to intensify their colonial exploitation. No scope was allowed to productive investment being made by Indians. As against this, the urge for national industries found roots in Indian minds and a concomitant urge for technical, vocational and scientific education began to grow. Forces thus developed from the social, political, economic and cultural aspects of Indian life to demand a thorough and meaningful reform of education. It was at this juncture that Lord Curzon came to India as Governor General.

Lord Curzon's Educational Policy

Lord Curzon was, no doubt, one of the ablest Viceroy's endowed with many qualities. Yet he was an arrogant Imperialist without any soft corners for Indian sentiments that had been proceeding towards an explosion. *A clash between imperialist arrogance and revivalist extremism of Indians was inevitable.* The field of education was not spared, more so because it was most sensitive.

Curzon started with an *educational conference at Simla* (1901) where non-official Indian opinion went unrepresented. The conference opined that there had been an unbalanced development of education in a top-heavy pattern. 80% villages were without school, $\frac{2}{3}$ of boys had no provisions made for them, and only 2½% of girls had been provided for, while secondary and higher education had advanced far. Salaried employment had been the aim of education. This had caused an overemphasis upon examination, which again was intrinsically defective. University Senates composed of varied elements, and ad-hoc nature of Syndicates made university administration only farcical. The colleges had turned into coaching institutions preparing candidates for examinations. Teaching and Research at the highest levels had been lacking. The discontent and indiscipline of the younger generation turned the schools and colleges into a good breeding ground for political extremism.

On the basis of these preliminary findings, Curzon appointed the first "*Universities Commission*" in 1902. (with the inclusion of some Indian members). The Commission spoke against the establishment of new universities and suggested a re-delimitation of the territorial jurisdictions of universities. The Senate was proposed to be limited to 50—100

members and a statutory Syndicate would act as the executive organ of the University. For academic affairs the Commission suggested Boards of Studies with teacher's representation and acceptance of teaching duty by the University itself, specially at the post-graduate level.

In regard to Undergraduate Colleges, the Commission recommended an improvement of standards by rigidity of affiliation and recognition. The colleges were required to abide by stringent terms in respect of buildings and equipment, library, laboratory and teaching staff as well as hostels and students' welfare services. Curricula and standards of teaching (particularly English) were to be improved and examinations reformed. A stiff Entrance Examination would make it impossible for anyone other than the meritorious to get admitted to higher studies. In short, the Commission's recommendations amounted to a suggestion that *second grade colleges should wither away*. No candidate should be allowed to appear at a university examination without being sent up by a recognised college. This would militate against the unhealthy race to establish sub-standard private colleges. The affiliated and good colleges should provide also for the meritorious poor and they would be amply rewarded with grants. A high standard, thus attained, would help the university become a centre of learning and research conducted by efficient teachers.

In pursuance of these recommendations, the *Universities Act was passed in 1904*. The territorial jurisdictions were policy in higher education redelimited, and University administration was reformed. Financial assistance to Universities was squarely promised.

Curzon's intervention did not spare other fields viz-medical and engineering or agricultural studies. The Pusa Agricultural Institute was founded. Attention was given to forestry and veterinary sciences, arts & crafts, vocational and commercial studies, apprenticeship system, scholarship for higher studies, preservation of ancient monuments etc. Substantial grants were made for women's education. In short, Lord Curzon adopted a policy of making *liberal grants in return for Govt. control*. Separate grants were made for separate types of education. With the object of centralising Govt control, the office of Director General of Education was instituted. This initiative led subsequently to the acceptance of an 'Education Member' on the Governor General's Council. It cannot, thus, be denied that Lord

Curzon's educational policy had many positive features as we may now evaluate rationally. But this *policy of 'quality by control' could not be accepted by nationalist India* which had begun to think of more extensive education and meaningful education. A clash was inevitable.

Secondary and Primary Education

The inevitable corollary of the policy in higher education was Curzon's intervention in Secondary education, because the secondary schools were feeders of the Universities. It cannot but be admitted that the rapid expansion of secondary education after 1882 had considerably undermined the nature and standard of secondary education. Curzon adopted some positive measures enunciated in the form of a *Govt. Resolution in 1904*.

Study of the vernacular throughout the secondary course, application of the Direct Method in the teaching of English, Science courses, improved teacher preparation at University level, diversified curriculum with more emphasis upon the 'B' course at school leaving stage were some of the positive aspects of Curzon-policy.

But here too, a *policy to weed out the sub-standard schools* by stricter rules of administration and recognition was adopted. A strict control of the University upon secondary education was proposed. And above all, the practice of Govt. recognition of schools in addition to university affiliation was insisted upon. Right to send up candidates was given only to affiliated schools, and right to enjoy govt. grants was reserved for the recognised schools only. Recognition was subjected to strict inspection and severe rules. Thus the policy of qualitative improvement by quantitative control of Secondary education was the essence Curzonian policy.

Policy in primary education, however, had an element of departure. Primary education had not expanded to the desired degree after 1882. Curzon declared that expansion of primary education was a major responsibility of the State and primary education had a major claim to Provincial and District Board budgets for education. Together with this announcement he adopted a policy to improve the curriculum, introducing physical education and nature study, linking primary education with village life and two-year teacher-training (including agricultural training) etc.

Govt aids to primary schools were increased, school buildings and equipment bettered. Instead of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the educational expenses of

local bodies, the Govt began to bear as much as 50%. The policy of 'payment by result' was abandoned. Thus, in the field of primary education, Lord Curzon *combined quantitative expansion with qualitative improvement*. The freedom of local bodies was to some extent compromised (on the plea of inefficiency) and administration of primary education was bureaucratised. Yet, the increase in Govt attention was reflected in the increase in the number of primary schools which rose from 93604 in 1901 to 118262 in 1911-12.

Evaluation of Curzon Policy

Lord Curzon had not basically changed the nature or objectives of education, nor did he overhaul the structure or system of education. His efforts were limited to qualitative improvement through administrative control. But, his attempt at improvement of curricula, recognition of the vernaculars, introduction of the sciences etc. sowed the seeds of subsequent developments. Improvement of university administration, and attention to agricultural, technological, medical and commercial courses was pregnant with future possibilities. The acceptance of teaching responsibility directly by the university laid the real foundation of higher education. In fact, Govt. attention to all aspects and stages of education was a productive contribution of Lord Curzon. A rational and judicious analysis of Curzon's policy justifies praise. Had the Curzonian policy been thoroughly implemented since then, many of our present educational problems might not have been born with their present intensity and extensity. Today we propose many things which Curzon had proposed seventy five years ago.

But, the *present standards cannot be applied to an assessment of the past*. The past must be assessed in the historical perspective. That perspective leads us to conclude that Curzon's policy cut across the nation's aspirations. Curzon had bypassed not only the Indian sentiments, but also the opinion of the educated leadership which was considered a 'microscopic minority'. Curzon wanted to centralise educational administration and to combine Govt. aids with Govt. control. Improvement of university administration was mixed up with Governmentalisation. Sadler Commission itself had to remark a decade later that Calcutta University was the most Governmentalised one. Total Govt responsibility in education was not admitted. The policy of control simply obstructed non-official enterprise to

spread education. This amounted to squeezing and limiting higher education. This could not be admitted by nationalist India. Curzon's logic was that the "expansionist policy" of 1881 had outlived itself. Haphazard expansion not only undermined the standards, but made education politically motivated. Hence Govt must not withdraw from the field of education. (This was a reversal of the previous policy of gradual withdrawal). Rather, a more extensive Govt effort and intensive control should be combined.

Such a policy could not be admissible to India which was seething with discontent and enthused with revivalism. Indian attention had been drawn to Indology, study of the vernaculars, nationalistic history and geography, mass education and Indianisation of educational administration. Expansion of education was more desired. In short, *discontent against British Rule became correlated with discontent against the British-given system of education.* Curzon's arrogant, egotist and unsympathetic methods had injured the nation's feeling. He had not given any recognition to enlightened Indian opinion in the Simla Conference of 1901. He had slighted the educated gentry in his Calcutta University Convocation Address in 1905. He adopted a bureaucratic method of reform. Such things at a time when political extremism was a growing feature in the national movement were sure to lead to a clash. Partition of Bengal during Curzon-administration crowned everything. *The partition question supplied the fuse to the explosive situation.* Anti-Partition Movement produced its corollary in the National Education Movement.

National Education Movement

We have already discussed how discontent against the established system of education had been developing since the last years of the 19th Century. Some reformation efforts had started. Rabindranath's 'Brahmacharya Asram' at Bolepur (1901) was an attempt to revive the ancient Indian tradition in education. Dawn
Previous efforts Society of Satish Chandra Mukherjee conducted a campaign through its organ "The Dawn." Bhagawat Chatuspathi was an attempt to regenerate the Hindu ideals in education. Some new features were introduced in a few schools in the form of religious instruction, attention to the study of the classical languages and literature, study of the history and cultural heritage of India. Criticisms were sounded from officially recognised platforms also,

as will be evident from the addresses of Sir Gurudas Banerjee as Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University. But *it was still a reform movement with the object of remedying the imbalances and defects of the official system of education.* The idea of a parallel system of education beyond official control had not been shaped.

But things changed speedily. The Boer war, Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese war and the subsequent Russian Revolution of 1905, nationalist movement in Persia, the Young Turk movement in Turkey had sent a thrill to the Indian mind. *Extremism was rapidly advancing in Indian politics.* Only a spark was necessary to start a conflagration. Lord Curzon's "partition-policy" supplied the spark. The national movement could not admit that 'partition' was simply an administrative measure. It was characterised as a device to cripple the national movement by territorial *dismemberment* and communal disharmony. The nation's reply was Boycott and Swadeshi.

The call of *Triple Boycott* meant boycott of Law Courts, Foreign Goods and Foreign Education. Students responded by leaving schools and colleges en masse. The Govt replied with repression. It was notified that severe penal measures would be taken against the 'rebels'. It started from Rangpur, spread to other districts, and stirred up Calcutta. The Carlyle Circular was one of a few such notifications. The nation took up the cause of the "rebel-children." An alternative arrangement had to be made in defiance of the Govt policy, so that the students' morale might be kept up, an alternative path might be shown to the nation and the Govt.'s policy might be defeated. The Boycott Circular was issued in the name of the anti-partition movement. The National Council of Education was formed in November, 1905 to plan "National" education. The associated 'Ways and Means Committee' would implement the plan. The "Society for the Promotion of National Education in Bengal" was formed under the leadership of Sir Gurudas. Princely donations came forth from Rajas Subodh Chandra Mullik and Sashikanta Acharya Choudhury (of Mymensingh).

National institutions were established under the auspices of the National Council. Aurovindo Ghosh (subsequently Sree Aurovindo) became Principal of the National College. The progressive leadership of Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal

(known as leadership of Lal-Bal-Pal) threw its strength into a campaign for boycott and Swadeshi. Local leaders like Aswini Kumar Datta of Barisal gave yeoman's service. Even moderates like Gokhale and Naoroji had to endorse the movement. The Calcutta Session of the National Congress in 1906 declared that the time had come for the nation to organise national education, in the national method under national control.

Sequence of incidents

In 1904, Curzon announced the plan of Bengal Partition to be effective from 16th Oct, 1905. The nationalists characterised it as a device to weaken the integrity of Bengal and encouragement to communalism.

7th Aug, 1905, Town Hall meeting in Calcutta under the chairmanship of Manindra Chandra Nandi resolved to adopt *Triple Boycott* (boycott of Courts, Schools and British goods) if the partition decision were not withdrawn.

On 16th Oct, 1905, the day scheduled for the partition, the people observed '*fasting and rakhi ceremony*', and a meeting was held in the afternoon with Anandamohan Bose in the chair. In the presidential address at the annual congress session of that year Gopalkrishna Gokhale expressed support for the anti-partition movement. The movement was transformed into a militant mass movement not by the official congress, but by the young leaders of extremism. Instead of the older leaders like Surendranath, Gokhale, etc., the younger ones like Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurovindo Ghosh, Aswini Datta stood at the fore front. They were strengthened by the younger leaders of other provinces like Balgangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai etc. The Govt's reply was repression.

The boycott policy found shape in two distinctively constructive movements, e.g. (i) *Swadeshi Industry* and (ii) *National Education*.

Post graduate students and P.R.S. scholars met at Field and Academy Club (under the leadership of Radhakumud Mukherjee, Rabindra narayan Ghosh, Benoy Sarkar etc.) and resolved to boycott the ensuing M.A. examinations of Calcutta University, much before the actual day of partition. School boycott started in Oct, 1905. The Chief Secretary of the Provincial Govt, Mr. R. W. Carlyle issued from Darjeeling a circular that students participating in boycott and agitation would be punished. This was the notorious *Carlyle circular*.

On the basis of this circular, the District Magistrates threatened the headmasters that dire consequences would follow if they failed to hold their pupils, if necessary by serving as "special constables". This came to be characterised as the *Anti-Swadeshi Circular*. A similar circular was sent by the D.P.I. Mr. Alexander Pedlar to the principals of colleges.

Resentment was expressed against these measures in meetings presided over by Abdul Rosul and Rabindranath Tagore. It was then that the early thoughts were expressed about a National University. Action followed in quick succession. An anti-circular committee was formed. The first national school was established at Rangpur on 8th November. The Headmaster of Madaripur High School refused to cane the boys even in violation of a circular of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the Governor of the new province of East Bengal. At a meeting in Calcutta on 8th Nov. Subodh Chandra Basu Mallick announced a donation of a lakh of rupees for a national university. In another meeting on the next day Brojendra Kishore Rai Chaudhury announced a donation of 5 lakh rupees. Ashutosh Choudhury, Sister Nivedita, Brahmabandhab Upadhyay, Satish Mukherjee, Surendranath and others now took the field. An appeal was issued in the name of Ashutosh Choudhury. On 16th Nov 1905, a meeting of all the leading citizens of Calcutta and Bengal, presided over by Pyarlmoohan Mukherjee resolved to form a National Council of Education. A provisional committee was formed with Ashutosh Choudhury and Nilratan Sarkar as joint secretaries.

The National School started functioning in a rented house on Bow-bazar Street from 15th August, 1906. A report of the Ways and Means Committee was adopted at an education conference presided over by Satyendranath Tagore. The National Council was finally formed with 92 leading citizens of Bengal, with Rashbehari Ghosh as President and Ashutosh Choudhury & Hirendranath Datta as joint secretaries.

The *objectives* announced by the National Council of Education were :—to provide Art, Science and Technological education under national control and inspiration. The detailed objectives were :—(i) education through mother tongue (while keeping English as a compulsory subject). (ii) text books, reflecting national ideals. (iii) religious instruction if special donations are made for the purpose. (iv) to

attach equal value to the cultures of the East and West, with particular emphasis upon nation's history, tradition, language, land, (v) science, technology and professional education, (vi) Instruction of a high standard, (vii) termination of school education at 15+ and beginning of college education at 16+.

The activities of the National College were divided into three groups— (i) Literature, (ii) Sciences, (ii) Engineering and technology. Exhibitions were organised with students' productions. Contracts were made with different firms for engineering services. Extension lectures were organised.

Instruction was provided at three levels—primary, intermediate, collegiate. Even at the primary level (age group 6—9 yrs.) literary education was combined with simplest forms of vocational training. For age group 9—16 (i.e. secondary) the courses were composed of Humanities, Sciences and Technology. The college stage was meant for specialisation in any of the above branches.

The movement spread to the districts. National education conferences were held in the districts (presided over by men like Rabindranath) and national schools founded. The council had to adopt the practice of affiliating, inspecting and aiding many of those schools. Many primary schools were also set up and they applied for aid. The Council's help, however, fed the secondary schools better than primary ones. This was significant in as much as the character of the movement and its leadership was concerned.

Differences cropped up in the leadership. One school represented by Sir Gurudas, Satish Chandra, Hiren Datta, Ashutosh Choudhury, Subodh Mullik etc. wanted secession of links with Calcutta University and building a rival institution. Another school represented by Taraknath Palit, Bhupen Basu, Nilratan Sarkar, Manindra Nandi desired that National Education Movement supplied what was wanting in the state system of education. Hence they stood only for technical and vocational education.

Compromise being impossible, the technical education group formed the *society for the promotion of technical education* and established the *Bengal Technical Institute*. Instruction imparted was characterised by the Academic group as 'mistri making' education. By 1908, however, the momentum of the national education movement waned and both the groups had to fight for existence. The two groups

and their institutions merged with each other. But by then the movement itself was coming to its close.

The success of the movement was nothing brilliant in terms of the numbers of schools and colleges established. Eleven high schools in West Bengal and 40 in East Bengal came into existence. (it is to be noted that East Bengal which was to be ceded from Bengal reacted violently.) Some general and professional colleges were also established, the most noteworthy of them being the Jadavpur College of Engineering and Technology.

There had been no clarity of ideas and objectives, nor any unanimity of views when the movement had started. The ideas were produced by the movement itself. Condemnation of the insufficiency of the official system and urge for freedom from official control, attachment to the mother tongue and reduced emphasis upon English, vocational and practical education, Indian control of education and the urge for a patriotic flavour in education were some features of common understanding. But the movement had its own weakness. It established schools separately and in isolation from the official system, but failed to offer a parallel and alternative system of education. The official pattern was copied with slight modifications. A completely new curriculum, supply of self-less teachers for a long period (even when emotion died down), motivation of parents to send their children to national institutions instead of official institutions (the parents had worries about the "future" of their children), provision of houses, buildings, equipment and recurring funds were material obstacles to a permanent success of the movement.

Intrinsic weaknesses were no less prominent. It is true that some of the Muslim leaders had joined the anti-partition agitation, but the communal seed sown by British Imperialism kept the Muslim masses out of the main stream. This was indirectly helped by the Hindu tenor of the revivalist movement. The leaders, very soon exhibited conflicting ideas. (i) One section favoured the re-emergence of ancient Indian ideals and practices in education, (ii) a second group favoured modern education in the humanities with necessary nationalistic modifications, (iii) a third section urged for emphasis upon the sciences as well as vocational and technical studies. The third group again had its own differences—(a) vocational education

with preference to cottage industries and rural crafts, (b) vocational education with preference to modern industries. Moreover, the movement, for all practical purposes, was limited and confined to Bengal although all-India sympathies were not lacking. Congress leaders differed on the issue of the nature and extent of boycott. This caused the anti-partition movement to wane. Just as the "national industries" began to wither away, so did the tempo of the national education movement slow down.

Close relation of the education movement with the anti-partition movement also caused its waning when the anti-partition movement lost its momentum. Some of the educational thinkers of the time again turned to the policy of reforming the official system "from within," instead of frittering away strength and resources in a temporary upsurge. Huge donations made by Taraknath Palit and Rashbehari Ghosh to the Calcutta University together with the new turn of events in that University under the leadership of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee (this we shall discuss later) also dampened the spirit. The Government also showed moderation by abrogating some of the penal measures, thereby facilitating the re-entry of the student population into official schools. The movement was not called off, but it gradually petered out.

True it is that the movement (1905-07) failed to give us a permanent national system of education, yet it is true that *our ideas were cleared, our educational horizon was broadened* and we got prepared for a long-range battle. Annie Besant declared unequivocally that a foreign system of education had given an un-national character to our life, living and thinking. It had denationalised the spirit of educated India. Such education could not be productive, because it kept the creative genius in fetters. Hence the system must go. Gokhale wanted Indianisation of Educational Administration (a moderate politician as he was). Lajpat adopted a more balanced attitude by declaring that overemphasis upon the past, or excessive condemnation of the same are equally unhealthy. It must be realised squarely that India had given to others, just as she had received from others. While respecting India's cultural traditions, her sons should have the rationality to accept the gifts of others on equal terms. In short, it was gradually recognised that while national education will induce the educand to remember the past glory of India in commerce,

industries, arts and literature, it will also look at the present and help the creation of a modern India.

That *these concepts found roots in the Indian mind* was proved by a recurrence of the national education movement simultaneously with the Non-Cooperation—Khilafat movement (1920-22). The insufficiency of the Mont-Ford Reforms (1919), the Rowlatt Act, the Jalianwalla-bagh massacre had enraged the sentiments of nationalist India. British policy in the Middle East had similarly enraged the Muslim masses. Gandhiji and the Ali Brothers stood on the same platform of Non-Cooperation. The boycott weapon was again applied and Gandhiji promised Swaraj in a year. Students en-masse walked out of their institutions. *Muslim students of Aligarh were the front rankers.* In fact, the movement started with the establishment of the Jamia Millia Islamia. The whole of India felt the impulse. By 1921 the total number of national schools in India was 1349 with a roll-strength of 78571. Gujrat, Behar, Kashi, Maharashtra Vidyapeeths, and the Bengal National University came into being. Medical and Art schools, Law Colleges and Liberal Colleges were started with nationally oriented curricula. *Teaching through the mother tongue brought education nearer to the masses.* The Indian employers were motivated to recognise the degrees and certificates awarded by the National Universities. But again the movement proved volatile. The non-co-operation movement was withdrawn. The hope of "Swaraj in a year" proved illusory. And the national education movement came to an end.

Comparison

The movement in the two phases had some differences between them. In the first phase the movement had been limited mainly to Bengal and Muslim participation was negligible, while in the second phase it acquired an all India span with wide participation, particularly of Muslims. The first phase of the movement was spontaneous and emotional, led mainly by local leaders while in the second phase it was precisely planned and led by an organised leadership. The value of "boycott of education" as a measure to rouse mass fury had been proved by the first phase and effectively used in the second phase.

The cumulative effect of the movement led to a positive consciousness about the nature and character of national education.

Lala Lajpat declared that a "*national system of education*" *could not be built by any non-official agency. National education must await a national Govt.* "Universal education" must have the biggest claim to national resources. Non-official attempts simply helped the Govt. to slip away. A national Govt. would be the surest guarantee to national education.

Weakness and Effects

The movement failed to give us a permanent system of education in opposition to the official system. Revivalist emotionalism had provided the dynamics. Absence of a uniform understanding regarding the nature of national education weakened the movement from within. *Only those institutions which served specifically desired purposes survived, and the 'general types' of institutions withered away.* The Gurukul or the Viswabharati revived ancient glory. They survived by serving a special purpose. *Jamia Milia or Darrul-Ulum Nadwatul Ulama* survived because they revived Islamic glory. Some of the medical and technical institutions survived because they served *the current needs of the nation.* *The change in the mental world, however, was more important.*

The national education movement was not a well-knit unitary movement. It developed in two isolated phases. Traditionalists and modernists, orientalist and scientists, lovers of humanities and lovers of technology, Hindus and Muslims—all were drawn into the vortex of a common movement, because all these sections had common grievances against a foreign system of education. It was a complex movement. *But the common point of agreement was an intense national feeling and an intense urge for a change.*

Indirect and direct effects of the movement were far-reaching, (1) It created an impact upon official educational policy too. The quinquennial report for 1917-22 admitted that the movement had expressed the suppressed feelings of the nation. Hence the aims of education in India required to be redefined. The aim of education should be to help the citizen adjust with his environment. With this perspective, the pattern of education should be reformed. (2) This movement forced the nation to think of mass education and mass literacy. The state of Baroda introduced compulsory primary education. The Gokhale Bill was rejected in the Central Legislature. Yet the attitude of the ruling power became more moderate. Provincial

primary education acts were passed in the provincial legislatures between 1918 and 1922, (3) Attachment to the mother tongue, attention to classical languages and literature, consciousness of one all-India language were contributions of the movement, (4) A patriotic atmosphere invaded the schools and drove away the loyalist climate. The concept of social service and national reconstruction through education found strong roots. (5) The creation of an urge for women's education and technical education together with the urge for Indianisation of educational administration were some of the most prominent effects of the movement. (6) A positive attitude towards industrialisation and industrial education took roots. (7) The Nation's genius was employed in researches. (8) And above all, a climate of freedom permeated the whole field of education. The national education movement fertilised our educational concepts and ideals. It opened up a new educational vista. It laid a track of ideas to pursue. The persistent movement for educational reforms that developed thereafter drew its inspiration from the National Education Movement. The epithet "*watershed*" may characterise the movement, *in spite of many drawbacks in its "nature"*.

Resonance of the National Education Movement

(A) Gokhale's Primary Education Bill :

Although the National Council of Education failed to do anything remarkable in regard to mass primary education, its influence and impact was felt even in moderate circles. This influence was concretely expressed in the efforts of *G. K. Gokhale* to get an Act passed for free and compulsory primary education.

Upto 1902, Gokhale had been a teacher and principal at Ferguson college, Poona. He was a founder member of the Servants of India Society and a member of the Central Legislative Assembly from 1902. As President of the National Congress, he had supported the boycott movement against Bengal Partition. Although a moderate politician, he staunchly supported the cause of primary education.

With inspiration from the introduction of compulsory primary education in the princely state of Baroda, Mr. Gokhale tabled on 19th March, 1910, a motion in the Central Assembly for free and compulsory primary education. Although the motion was of a very limited nature, the Govt. did not face the move. Gokhale withdrew the

motion on the assurance that an official motion would be tabled. No initiative of the Govt. was, however, noticed. On 16th March, 1911, Gokhale tabled his motion for the second time. The Bill was circulated to elicit opinions of Universities and provincial Govts. Gokhale proposed that his Bill be sent to a special committee. This motion was *debated in the Central Assembly on 18th & 19th March, 1912.*

Gokhale's Bill had been of a very moderate nature. He had proposed that (i) compulsion be introduced in areas where 33% of children were already in school ; (ii) the provisions of the bill would be implemented in selected areas, and that even, by the local self Government bodies ; (iii) the local bodies would have to secure Govt. permission prior to application of the Act ; (iv) Parents would stand responsible for sending children of 6-10 group to school ; (v) There would be no tuition fees for children whose parents did not earn more than Rs. 10/- a month, (vi) The local bodies might impose a 'cess' to meet $\frac{1}{3}$ of the cost while the Govt. would bear $\frac{2}{3}$. (vii) Compulsion be introduced for boys only and would be gradually extended to girls.

In spite of the Bill being so moderate and conditional, it was rejected on the plea that (a) people were not conscious and desirous, (b) local self governing bodies were opposed to it, (c) the time for compulsion had not yet come, (d) there was scope for expansion of primary education under private enterprise. (It is to be noted that the officials and nominated members commanded a majority in the house).

A resonance of the national education movement had thus to face an official hurdle. But things were changing fast. The first world war started in 1914 when the Govt. sought the hand of this nation. After the war, loud thinking started for another round of constitutional reforms. Under the pressure of a strengthened and more mature national movement it was possible to get the series of primary education bills passed in the provincial legislatures.

(B) Other forms of Echo : Karve & S.N.D.T

Although the national education movement subsided, its influence remained alive in several institutions. (i) The central school at *Benaras* established by Annie Besant and Madan Mohan Malavya was upgraded to a university in 1915 and it started functioning as such in 1917. (ii) The *Osmania University* at Hyderabad was founded

in 1918. Acceptance of Urdu as a medium of instruction was the speciality of this university. (iii) The *Gurukul* at Hardwar had been established earlier. But its real growth was experienced during these days. (iv) Rabindranath's Santiniketan Ashram outgrew into the *Visva-Bharati*. (v) The Anglo-Oriental college at *Aligarh* became a university in 1920.

Most remarkable development was the S. N. D. T. women's university (1916). The pathetic plight of women, particularly the young Hindu widows had led Prof. D. K. Karve to think of such education for women as would equip the women to earn a respectable living. Karve had established a girls' school at Poona in 1889. Under the impact of national consciousness, this institution became growingly popular. The consciousness of national education that was spread in Poona by Bal Gangadhar Tilak enabled Karve's institution to become a university in 1916. Subsequently, a respectable donation from the Thackersay family led the managers to change the name to S. N. D. T. (women's university). The institution was ultimately shifted to Bombay. Whatever the name, the S. N. D. T. is a living memorial to Prof. D. K. Karve.

3rd Phase (?)

The movement terminated in 1922 with the realisation that a national system of education must await the birth of a national Govt. Yet, the freedom of educational thought achieved by the movement gave a rich crop in the subsequent years. No educational movement coincided with the Civil Disobedience agitation excepting students' abstention from classes. The third phase, if we call it a phase of the National Education Movement, which was more academic than practical, came in 1937 when Gandhiji propounded his Basic Education scheme. (It may be characterised as a phase of the National Education Movement in the sense that it proposed a pattern of education for the nation). In face of the expected freedom of the country, the *national consciousness in education was employed constructively in determining the nature and pattern of the future national education*. Gandhiji's scheme and the deliberations of the National Planning Committee, 1938-39 (unofficial Committee under the auspices of the National Congress) may be called the third phase of the National Education Movement.

Basic Education

Gandhiji upheld a classless, casteless, egalitarian society based on non-violence. To him Swaraj meant Sarvodaya i.e. a stateless democracy built through spiritual uplift and purification. As a part of Sarvodaya, Gandhi planned universal, free, compulsory and complete 7 year education free from the domination of English. His educational objective was physical, mental and spiritual development of the child. His philosophy was that the solution of conflicts in one's own self is the way to achieve a balanced personality. Only well balanced individuals may form a balanced society. Hence, a better society of the future required better citizens inspired by ideals of non-violence, sacrifice, co-operation and aversion to exploitation. Basic Education would be such a type of man making education.

Basic Education meant education for life and living through socially useful productive activity. Compulsory productive activity would remove the traditional difference between intellectual education and practical education, between head and hand. Activity-centric education would produce socialised individuality. Productive craft would be educationally productive too. By "Education" Gandhi meant the proper expression of one's innate endowments. Literacy would be only a step towards real education. Instead of voluminous knowledge, he laid emphasis upon experience and experimentations. The school would be a place for work, experimentations and discoveries. School-work would develop social and citizenship qualities. Education would be integrated with the nation's ideals and adjusted with natural and social environment. Such education would contribute to character-formation, and would ensure political, social and spiritual freedom.

Gandhiji's scheme was published in 1937 in "The Harijan". The All India Education Conference deliberated on its feasibility. Report of a study committee under Dr. Zakir Hossain was adopted at the Haripura Session of the Congress in 1938.

Shortly afterwards, another Committee led by B. G. Kher suggested (i) the introduction of Basic education through mother-tongue for 6-14 age group with preference to rural areas. After the 5th grade, children might go to 'general' schools. (ii) It suggested a structural pattern as—5-year Junior Basic, 3-year Senior Basic and also a post-basic stage, so that students might proceed to higher studies or to employment.

The Poona Conference of 1939 and the Jamia Nagar Conference of 1941 further retouched the scheme and ultimately the National Education Conference at Wardha in 1945 produced a complete scheme of Basic Education from pre-primary to adult stage. Although it was accepted as the foundation of a national system of education, the scheme had to wait for implementation (excluding a short trial under Provincial Autonomy) till India acquired independence. (Discussions on implementation of the scheme will be undertaken in later chapters).

Calcutta University and Sir Ashutosh

The National Education Movement was not the only attempt to fight out Curzon's policy. A different type of movement was not only successful, but also significantly productive. It was a policy of "*wrecking Curzon-policy from within the University*" by using the University machine to the advantage of the nation. Sir Ashutosh initiated and led this *second-front attack upon Curzon-policy*.

Much to the misunderstanding and consternation of the nation, Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee accepted Vice-Chancellorship of Calcutta University to work out the much condemned University Act of 1904.

He adopted the successful policy of (i) Expansion of Ashutosh's policy secondary and higher education by liberal affiliation of schools and colleges and a liberal Entrance Examination (ii) adoption of teaching responsibility by the university, (iii) introduction of the study of the vernacular at higher stages of education, (iv) studies in sciences and technology, (v) introduction of varied disciplines, (vi) recruitment of scholars from all over India and all walks of life as university teachers, (vii) researches under auspices of the University, (viii) maintenance of University autonomy and freedom.)

Before long, public opinion rallied behind Ashutosh. Princely donations came forth from Palit and Ghosh as well as endowments from different persons and societies. *Calcutta University was really shaped between 1906 and 1914* under the dynamic leadership of Sir Ashutosh. With a break for a few years Ashutosh resumed Vice-Chancellorship under the Mont-Ford Reforms. By that time, all teaching responsibility at post graduate level was concentrated in the hands of the University (against odds and obstructions). He did not fear to enter into a conflict with the Govt. on matters of policy. It was then that Ashutosh issued the famous call "Freedom first! Freedom second! Freedom always!" Curzon's policy was, thus, defeated.

But rapid expansion created fresh problems and the need was felt for reforms. (A more detailed discussion about Sir Ashutosh's principles and actions may be worthwhile).

Ashutosh Mukherjee had been a member of the Universities Commission which wanted the Calcutta University to be a teaching University. He accepted Vice-Chancellorship in 1906. One of his first act was the establishment of the University Library in Darbhanga Hall. He also established the University Press in 1908. As early measures for the organisation of post graduate teaching, he established Chairs in different subjects and invited renowned Professors from different colleges to undertake post graduate teaching. He also initiated the post of full time Professors, Readers and Lecturers. The University College of Science and Technology was established. His next measure was concentration of post graduate teaching in University's hand. The departments of Sciences and Arts were shaped and the Minto Chair of Economics was established in 1903. The University College of Law came into being in 1909. The George V Professorship of Mental and Moral Science and the Hardinge Professorship of Advanced Mathematics were instituted in 1911. This was followed by the chair of Sanskrit.

The Science College was founded in 1914. Acharya P. C. Roy was the first Palit Professor of Chemistry, and P. C. Mitra was the first Ghosh Professor. The first Palit Professor of Physics was C. V. Raman and the first Ghosh Professor of Physics was Prof. Debendramohan Bose. Ganesh Prasad joined as Professor of Applied Mathematics and Prof. Agharkar joined as professor of Botany. It was a genuine credit of Ashutosh to have secured the services of stalwarts for the University of Calcutta.

In defining the role of the University, Ashutosh said, "To my mind the University is a great store-house of learning, a great bureau of standards, a great workshop of knowledge, a great laboratory for the training of men of thought as well as men of action. The University is thus the instrument of the state for the conservation of knowledge, for the application of knowledge and above all for the creation of knowledge-makers."

Ashutosh Mukherjee believed that nationalism through mental unity and integration might be achieved through education. As a first step towards integration, he adopted the policy of studying the different languages of India, so that linguistic intercourse might break

the parochial borders. In 1906, Honours courses were introduced in Bengali and subsequently M.A. Examination was initiated, Measures were adopted for the preparation of Text Books and other reading materials. Under his inspiration, Bengali, Assamese, Maithili, Oriya, Urdu, Hindi, Gujrati, Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, Ceylonese etc. were accepted as subjects of study. Calcutta University led India in this field. Ashutosh's motto was "—culture the mother tongue reach the people through the mother-tongue."

All this happened when the National Education Movement had overwhelmed the intelligentsia, and Ashutosh had every possibility of being branded as a lackey of a foreign Govt. But it became apparent very soon that Ashutosh would not brook any official obstruction. The first conflict found expression in 1913 over the appointments of A. Rashul, Abdullah Suhrawardy, K. P. Jaiswal as Professors. Mr. Henry Sharp, the Jt Education Secy, rejected these selections. In his convocation address of 1914, Ashutosh protested against circumscription in strictly academic affairs.

Thus ended the first part of Ashutosh's Vice Chancellorship from 1906 to 1914. During the next Vice Chancellorship of D. P. Sarbadhikari the Govt. of India set up a committee under Ashutosh's leadership to review Post Graduate teaching. The committee recommended the formation of Councils of P. G. teaching in Arts and Sciences.

Consequent upon the constitutional reforms of 1919, the administration of Calcutta University was transferred to Bengal Govt. and the National Education Movement in its second round characterised Calcutta University as a "Golakkhana". Yet Sir Ashutosh accepted the responsibility of steering the University. But very soon a conflict developed with Provash Chandra Mitra, the Provincial Minister of Education. It was a conflict between expansion and finance. The Govt wanted to slash down aid, to establish tighter control upon University.

On 2nd December, 1922, in a Senate meeting, Sir Ashutosh said "I will not participate in the humiliation of this University. The University will not be a manufactory of slaves... We shall not be a part of the Secretariat of the Govt... I shall call upon you as members of the Senate to stand up for the rights of your University... freedom first, freedom second, freedom always."

In 1923 upon Lord Lytton's proposal about a new University Act, Sir Ashutosh said in his last convocation address, "The University must be free from external control over the range of subjects and methods of teaching and research. We have to keep it equally free from the trammels in other directions—political fetters from the state ecclesiastical fetters from religious corporations, civic fetters from the community and pedantic fetters from what may be called the corporate action of the University itself."

Sir Ashutosh held that Calcutta University had become a Swadeshi University. In fact, our debt to Sir Ashutosh, particularly in respect of expansion of secondary and higher education is beyond measure.

CHAPTER VI

Reform Movement till 1947

Educational thinking after 1905 advanced on two contradictory lines—(i) the official policy of "quality through control" as initiated by Lord Curzon and (ii) the nationalist policy of reforms in the light of the National Education Movement.

Gokhale's Bill on compulsory primary education was defeated by the Govt. in the Central Legislature. Yet the Govt could not but adopt a more liberal attitude. The policy of increased Govt responsibility was made explicit by the Durand Proclamation of 1911 and the Govt Resolution of 1913. Curzon policy in Secondary Education was re-stated in a Govt. Resolution of 1913. But the impact of National Education Movement facilitated expansion of Secondary Education. The demand for Indian control became persistent. The conflict was most pronounced in higher education. Curzon's policy had been to establish no more universities. But the tempo of expansion went on unabated. While in 1902 there had been 145 colleges and 5 universities, in 1931 there were 231 colleges and 12 universities. Some new universities with new character were born, viz. Benaras Hindu University (1917), Hyderabad Osmania (1918), Aligarh (1920), Poona S. N. D. T. (1920). Curzon's policy was partially successful in respect of standards, teaching by universities and research work etc. Subjects like the Sciences, Economics, Psychology, Sociology etc. were included in University courses. But the policy of Govt. control was largely defeated by Sir Ashutosh.

Ashutosh's bold leadership established a link between the university and the nation's aspirations. Higher education expanded rapidly. *But expansion created problems in its trail.* Need for more universities, nature and structure of universities, internal administration, aims of higher education, standard and nature of collegiate education, relation between secondary education and university education or between university and Govt. etc. were vital questions. A stock-taking was required. A start was made from the higher end of education. The Sadler Commission (Calcutta University Commission) was instituted (1917).

Sadler Commission's Work

The Commission's findings were that (i) higher education had been undiversified and literary, (ii) the methods were mechanical, (iii) in the absence of technical education, higher education was mainly humanistic, (iv) the University's energy was unnecessarily spent in controlling schools, (v) this, in its turn, hampered the cause of teaching and research at the higher level, (vi) University education of good quality was possible on the basis of secondary education of good quality. But the low standard of secondary education was undermining the standard of university education, (vii) The schools had to pursue academic courses and standards determined by the University. A constant stream of students flowed through the gate of Entrance Examination to the steps of university education. The situation was made much worse by the absence of diversified studies at secondary level, (viii) Due to weakness of secondary education, the first two years of college education constituted a continuation of secondary education, and genuine University Education began from the 3rd College year, (ix) The schools also smarted under dual control—(a) the University through the system of affiliation and (b) the Govt. through the system of recognition.

The *Recommendations of the Commission* were of far reaching importance. We may enumerate them as follow :—(i) Secondary and University education should be well demarcated. The Intermediate stage should be the line of demarcation. Intermediate education for two years after the Entrance examination should be a continuation of school education. Hence the University should be relieved of the responsibility of Entrance and Inter-education, which should be placed in the administrative care of a separate Board of Secondary and Intermediate Studies which would administer, control and determine syllabuses etc. Secondary Education would thus be freed from dual control. Self-contained secondary education administered by an independent board would reduce student-pressure upon University. On the other hand, the University also would be free to concentrate its energy upon higher education and research. Thus the *idea of a self-contained and longer secondary education* was mooted.

(ii) To facilitate genuine specialisation at the higher stage, the Commission recommended diverse courses at the Inter-stage, viz.—arts, sciences, agriculture, medicine, commerce, engineering, education etc.

(iii) Although the Commission recommended a 2-year Inter-course, it was implied that it preferred a complete 12-year education as a precondition to admission into higher studies. *The idea of 12-year school education* thus originated.

Other important recommendations included—(i) special attention to education of women and Muslims, establishment of "Pardah Schools", if necessary, (ii) improvement and expansion of teacher preparation, (iii) establishment of a University Department of Education and acceptance of "Education" as a discipline, (iv) Expansion and improvement of studies in applied sciences, professional and vocational courses, (v) improvement of studies at university level by concentrating the total responsibility of post graduate teaching in the hands of the University, (vi) attention to the study of vernaculars (vii) Honours courses in various subjects. The Commission also thought of a 3-year Degree Course.

In regard to University Administration, the Commission criticised the Curzon policy of official control and *favoured a climate of freedom*. It recommended (i) a whole time Vice chancellor, a representative Court, an Executive Council, Faculties, Boards of Studies, Heads of Departments etc. (ii) The Boards of Studies and the Academic Council would be responsible for teaching and courses of study. For a better administration of higher education the commission recommended the establishment of a residential unitary university and a Secondary-Intermediate Board at Dacca.

It also recommended positive measures to improve some of the maffussil Colleges with a view to upgrading them in due course to Universities. Students' physical training under a Directorate of the University, welfare services and residential accomodation of students and inter-relation between Universities were some other valuable recommendations.

Effects and Significance

Practical implementation of the recommendations, however, remained limited. Controversies arose in regard to the proposed change of structure, particularly the value and feasibility of the Intermediate College. The questions of composition, powers and extent of autonomy of the Inter-Board led to recriminations. Political considerations entered into the fray. Although the Sadler Commission had been instituted to consider the problems of Calcutta,

its recommendations were least implemented in Bengal, with the exception of the foundation of Dacca University in 1920.

The recommendations, however, *acquired an all India importance* and were directly or indirectly implemented in other universities in varying degrees. Delhi, Andhra, Agra and Annamalai Universities were founded on the lines drawn by the Sadler Commission. Administrative changes were effected in the old Universities. Secondary Education Boards were established in different provinces. Inter-college and Inter-Varsity programme were inaugurated.

Implementation of some of the recommendations might not have been possible. *Some of the Commission's views might have been much in advance of the educational condition in the then India.* But the Commission helped the generation of some distinctively positive ideas viz modernisation of higher education, establishment of new type universities, academic freedom in universities, co curricular activities of students, extensive Honours Courses, longer secondary education, a year Degree Course, diversified curricula at Inter and Degree stage, integration of applied sciences, technical and vocational studies with academic courses etc. *For sixty years thereafter, our concepts of higher education advanced on the track laid by the Sadler Commission.* Our attempts at reform drew their inspiration from the voluminous report of the Commission. Impelled by this consideration we may accept Mayhew's observation, 'The report of the Calcutta University Commission has been a constant source of suggestion and information. Its significance in the history of Indian education has been incalculable.'

Further Stages of Reform Movement

Sadler Commission Report was followed by the Constitutional Reform of 1919 which transferred wider powers to the Provincial Govts, but at the same time introduced Dyarchy, dividing the administrative subjects into 'reserved' and 'transferred' ones. *Education became a transferred subject.* But education of Europeans and Anglo-Indians remained in the Reserved list. Moreover 'Finance' was a reserved subject. The "transference" of education had generated popular expectations. But finances being 'reserved', the expectations could not be fulfilled. Moreover, by making education a Provincial subject, the Central Govt. became immobile. Much needed reforms could not be implemented.

Although expansion did not tally with expectations, there was some expansion till 1947. Fourteen new universities (some of them residential) with teaching duty, were established. Secondary education was quantitatively doubled. The non-co-operation movement, the national education movement (1920-22), and the Civil Disobedience movement accelerated the process. Domination of English was reduced. Some vocational institutions were started (although the 'B' course died an unhonoured death).

Under the impact of the national movement, primary education also acquired a momentum. Starting with the Patel Act (1918) in Bombay, compulsory education acts were passed in quick succession in the other provincial legislatures (although with great limitations). *But the Central Govt stepped aside.* Financial resources fell far short of needs. The great economic crisis of 1929 also sapped the capacities of the ordinary man. Whereas the number of primary schools in 1921-22 had been 160072, it rose to only 172663 in 1947, i.e. number of new schools in 25 years was negligible. But the urge for education overcame crowding. Instead of 6910541 primary school children in 1921-22, there were 13036665 in 1947. The *problem of 'numbers'* was thus created. The defective development of education in this period was reflected in some reports and studies of which the Hartog Committee Report was most important.

Hartog Committee & Sapru Committee

Observations of a study-committee under Sir Philip Hartog published in the form of a report in 1929 were very illuminating, particularly in regard to primary education. The Committee trenchantly remarked that even by starving primary education, disproportionate emphasis had been placed upon higher education. Primary education had not been well planned, nor had the plans been implemented. Rural orientation had not been attempted, *although primary education in India was basically a rural problem.* It, therefore, suggested reorganisation of curriculum with effective integration with rural economy and the need of guaranteeing complete 4 year education and measures against lapsing into illiteracy. The committee drew attention to the *question of wastage and stagnation* and thereby added one more feature to our educational thoughts and problems.

Implementation of Hartog Committee's recommendations was not noteworthy. But productive educational thoughts developed in India.

Gandhiji's Basic Education scheme was one such. (It has been discussed earlier). The problems of Secondary Education did not escape notice. Hartog Committee referred to huge wastage in secondary education (reflected in failures in Matriculation examination), and pointed out that admission of sub-standard students was responsible for that state of affairs. It recommended *diversified curricula at the lower secondary stage and diversion of a section of students at the end of that stage to technical and commercial courses, as well as diversified education at secondary stage*. Nothing concrete was, however, done in those days. Yet the idea of diverting a section of students to vocational education even at secondary stage, which has been a major issue in the present days, originated and continued to influence our educational thinking since then.

Other voices were not lacking. The *Sapru Committee* (1934) formed in U. P. considered the inter-relation between general and vocational education and recommended (i) vocational training at the end of lower secondary education, (ii) diversified secondary education, (iii) prolongation of school education, and (iv) 3-year Degree Course. The recommendations of the Committee (formed for U. P.) acquired all-India currency, though without effect.

But these thoughts influenced the Central Govt too. *The C.A.B.E.* proposed in 1935 that, (i) lower secondary education should be reorganised with rural orientation, and it should be self-sufficient in nature, (ii) secondary education should be diversified into academic and practical channels through differential school length. At the end of secondary education, avenues should be open for entry into employment, higher academic education, agricultural & technical education etc.

Abbot-Wood Report

In the meantime, the question of technical and vocational education acquired independent importance. Since the days of the first world war, Indian investments in commerce and industries had been advancing apace. The question of vocational skill became a matter of practical importance. The Govt could not but pay attention to the problems of commercial, vocational, practical and adult education. The cumulative effect was the institution of a Committee under A. Abbot and S. H. Wood to study and report. The report (1937) submitted in

two parts treated the questions of general as well as vocational education.

In the General Education section, the Committee placed emphasis upon the "infant" class, recognition of propensities of primary school children, reduction of the weight of English at lower secondary stage which might be followed by 3-year primary teachers' training, study of English at secondary stage while accepting the mother tongue as medium of instruction.*

In the vocational education part, the Committee suggested equal status for academic and vocational education. The two types of instruction might be imparted in separate types of schools, but they should be considered as complementary to each other. Vocational education should be expanded on the basis of provincial survey of needs, and in close co-operation with commerce and industries. A State Advisory Board should enlist support from employers in the form of houses and equipment.

The Committee suggested a complete system of vocational education—(i) a three year course parallel with classes IX—XI of general schools (this was most needed), (ii) 2 year course parallel with the general degree course, (iii) part-time courses (attendance twice a week), (iv) Vocational Guidance and Career Pamphlets for collegiate stage, and (v) Construction of "Composite Centres" (including junior, senior, part time vocational and arts institutions).

Reports and recommendations piled up, but very little was done. But time did not remain static. The impact of the 2nd World War created a condition when a comprehensive scheme of reforms could not but be made. This was done by the Sargent Committee under the auspices of the C. A. B. E.

Sargent Committee Report

The report entitled "Post War Educational Development in India" (1944) suggested a 40 year programme for attaining equality with England (of 1944). The scheme included (i) provision of 10 lakh nursery school seats for 3-6 year group; (ii) Universal, Compulsory and Free Primary (or Basic) education for 6—11 group; (iii) Those of the 11—14 group who would like to proceed to higher education would be provided (on selective basis) with higher secondary education (11—17 years), and the unselected rest would be provided

with Senior Basic Education to be followed by 3-year Junior technical, art or trade school education, equal in status with secondary schools (or 6-year technical school after Junior Basic stage); (iv) Approximately 20% of Junior Basic school children might be selected for complete higher secondary education in two types of school—(a) Academic and (b) Practical, to impart lessons in applied sciences, commerce, technology and domestic science (for girls); (v) at the end of higher secondary education, there would be—(a) three year degree course (for 7—10% of high school graduates, and (b) two-year higher technical school as well as part time provisions. The system would be topped by the University department of technology and research institutes.

Other aspects of the scheme were—(a) Training of all teachers in University level colleges and training institutes. (b) Literacy for 9 crore illiterates (2—40 are group) through formal or vocational education. (c) Schools for the handicapped. (d) Health welfare and amusement services and Employment Bureau. The administrative machine for implementation of the scheme would consist of Central and Provincial Departments of the Govt. The Provincial Govt. would be responsible for all types of education other than university and technical studies. There would be a U. G. C. The Provincial Govt. would supersede inefficient Local Bodies.

The Sargent Plan had been much criticised in those days, particularly the 40 year length and the principle of 'Selection.' 37 years have actually elapsed since then. And we have achieved independence. Yet we are miles off the targets that had been fixed by the Committee. Credit must go to the Sargent Committee for its attention to pre-primary education, for recognition of Govt. responsibility in providing universal primary education, for integration between general and vocational education, and for its attention to the question of adult education. And this was the *first occasion when a complete, comprehensive and integrated educational plan was drawn up*. But nothing concrete was done in face of impending independence.

The period between 1917 and 1947 was one when reform consciousness advanced rapidly, but very little was done concretely. *It was a period more of educational aspirations rather than achievements*. Thus India stood at the threshold of independence with high hopes that Independent India would witness a revolutionary change in education.

Prospects and doubts

This vast land with millions of people, immensely rich soil and almost endless natural resources, with a tradition of past glories, with a memory of struggles against a mighty foreign power for freedom, is endowed with immense possibilities and prospects for development as a modernised and powerful nation.

On the other hand the millions of India live below the line of poverty, and are not in a position to contribute their strength and intellect to the development of the country. Man power of the nation is not correlated with the power of natural resources. A gap between natural resources and human resources causes all our doubts and destroys all our prospects. The gap may be bridged by education. The question is whether education shall still be a privilege enjoyed by a small section of powerful members of the society ! Or whether the huge potential of human resources would be released !

ADDENDA

Medical Science and Education in Ancient India

One of the many sciences practised in Ancient India was the medical science with roots in the Atharva Veda. Subsequently developed, out of the Atharva Veda, a distinctive medical science known as Ayurveda. Ayurveda also had many branches, although they were correlated. A medical practitioner had to study all the branches. Moreover, theory and practice were combined. A surgeon had not only to know the technique of operation, but also had to know much of the healing balm. The study of Ayurveda enabled one to know about his own life and length of life, to keep personal and community health, to treat the patients. To make the society and environment healthy, the obvious need was knowledge of Ayurveda.

There was no written texts in those remote days. The students received 'slokas' verbally delivered by the Guru and applied them in practice. He bequeathed this knowledge and knowledge gathered from his own experience to his own student in old age. Thus continued Ayurvedic knowledge from generation to generation in succession. But a day came when all aspects of the science could not be stored in memory. The need for written texts was felt on many hands.

Maharshi Agnibesh compiled the Agnibesh Samhita. His pupil Charaka issued a new edition from a new viewpoint. This came to be known as the Charaka Samhita. Susrut, the disciple of Dhanvantari,

compiled the *Susruta Samhita*. These two *Samhitas* are most ancient. Subsequently, however, many more scripts were compiled.

The *Samhitas* throw light on the fact that Ayurveda was divided into 8 branches. That is why Ayurveda was called *Astanga Ayurveda*. The branches were—

(1) Physical medicine (i.e. treatment of physical ailments with herbal drugs).

(2) Surgery.

(3) Ear, Nose, Throat—Treatment and setting of artificial limbs.

(4) *Bhuta Vidya* i.e. Treatment of mental diseases.

(5) Child care and child health.

(6) Treatment with poisons.

(7) Treatment for increasing child birth.

(8) Treatment with chemical drugs.

After the age of the Vedas and *Samhitas*, medical science reached a zenith between 7th century and 16th century A.D. Some famous medical experts of this era were—*Madhabkar* (a Bengalee practitioner who became famous in the 7th century for his work '*Roga Binischaya*' (ascertaining the disease). This work became famous also beyond the borders of India viz. Persian and Arab countries. Another Bengalee medical scientist of this period was *Chakrapani Datta* who wrote "*Charaka Tattwa Pradipika* (based on *Charaka*) and "*Bhanumati*" (based on *Susruta*). *Vanga Sen*, *Vijoy Raksit*, *Sreekanta Datta* and *Sibdas* were other Bengalee medical scientists of the time.

Buddhism put heavy premium upon service. Service to the ailing was also a part of the Buddhist value system. The extensive system of medical relief for men or beast established by Buddhist monarchs led to special emphasis being placed upon Medical Science. The excellence of medical science in the Buddhist era is spoken of in '*Venoy Pitaka*'. The greatest physician of the time was *Jivaka* who could diagnose a disease simply by a visual scrutiny of the patient. His work "*Bridbha Jivaka Tantra*" was a great work on children's diseases.

The Chinese Traveller *I'Tsing* left important records of the time. He visited *Nalanda*, *Bodhgaya*, *Kusinagar*, *Sarnath* and other places. At *Nalanda* he received lessons in medical science from *Acharya Bagbatta* who was the author of two texts—*Astanga Ayurved* and *Astanga Hriday*.

Even before this *Taxila* had been the most important centre for

medical education. The 7 year course of study was terminated with stiff examinations. Students were to know the qualities of various medical herbs, had to practise surgery and dressing of wounds in apprentice ship training. Indian monks who travelled in China, Japan, Siberia, Mongolia, Persia, Asia Minor and other places beyond India brought herbes from foreign lands and transplanted in India. Nursing was also in vogue. Charaka Samhita throws light on Nursing-training. 'Mahabhaga' a Buddhist script also speaks of the system of training.

Veterenary Science was also a part of medical science as is evident from the stories of Ramayana-Mahabharata about the treatment of horses, cows, elephants etc. Asokan era far strengthened and extended this practice.

Indian colonists abroad carried this Indian science to other lands. Greeks and Persians who visited India adopted this knowledge. Extensive archaeological discoveries in Central Asia led to the find of medical scripts. Indian Ayurved, in fact, achieved a zenith of glory.

Note on Ancient Indian achievements in Mathematics :

Like her achievements in medical science, India in the ancient days achieved remarkable success in various mineral industries, particularly ferrous industry. Knowledge of Chemistry was applied not only in medicine, but also in the technique of purifying water.

In mathematics and astronomy India's success had been astounding. Signs to measure the linear extent of road, the concept of zero, the concept of decimal are known to have originated in India. The concept of Trigonometry occurs in Surya Siddhanta. *Aryabhatta*, *Bhaskaracharya*, *Brahmagupta* were famous in the field of Algebra. The knowledge of astronomy was applied to explain the causes of solar and lunar eclipse. The length of the year was also calculated. Scientists like Aryabhatta explained the earth's rotation around its own axis, causing day and night as also its annual movement around the Sun. Closely allied with astronomy was its byproduct astrology which became an empirical science to establish the correlation between heavenly bodies and human beings on earth. The names of *Varaha-Mihira* are written in indelible ink in the cultural history of India. And *Kshana* tried to establish a link between heavenly happenings and human endeavour in the field of economic productivity and social life. The knowledge about the stars helped Indian navigators to negotiate open seas for inter-continental voyages.

PART IV

EDUCATION IN CONTEMPORARY INDIA.

CHAPTER I

DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY EDUCATION SINCE 1947

Our assessment of success or failure, progress or stagnation in primary education should best be made in the context of the progressive philosophical, psychological, sociological and pedagogical principles as well as the systems and practices in the advanced countries. It is proper then to discuss what primary education should be and how it should be conducted.

Features of Primary Education

The stage of life between 6/7 years and 10/11 years forms the stage of primary education. During these years, the child attains a rapid physical growth, including body-weight. (The rate of growth, however, varies between boys and girls.) Increased growth leads to increased activities. The mental characteristics of this stage have their peculiarities.

Physical and mental features of children

Intimacy with friends and loyalty to group being a feature, the child may be led to moral or immoral practices by the nature of group life he is accustomed to live. The child also tries to go out of bounds of his limited home circle. He gets interested in material activities. Curiosity is a special feature of boyhood. Productive activities in society make him curious. At the same time, the child exhibits a love for humanity. Group spirit makes him easily involved in games and amusements. The early beginnings of abstract thinking are evident in the latter years of this stage. Time and space sense develops. Personal attachment to socially oriented values is a nature of his life. *A scheme of primary education should conform to these characteristic features of the concerned age group.*

There had, however, been a time when even primary education was reserved for a few of the upper social strata. In these modern days, on the other hand, it is considered to be a birth right of every child and it is a *responsibility of the State to provide universal, free, compulsory primary education on terms of equality.* The principle of 'Common School' has been accepted in practice by the socialist states and in theory by the others.

There are, however, some differences in the aims of primary education adopted in various countries. France places emphasis

upon rational understanding of things. In East Germany, socialised morality and efficiency is aimed at. England attaches value to healthy experiences and character formation. The U. S. A. has "skill-objectives" combined with human qualities and social activities. Russia wants the production of vigorous, active and socially motivated personality.

In ancient days, primary education in our country had its own aim although it had not been expounded with theoretical terminology. *Primary education was sought to be helpful to the practical life of rural society.* The ancient system was practically abolished with the advent of British rule and modern life. But no fresh wind blew for a long time. Primary education remained almost mooringless. Educational thinkers like Gandhiji or Rabindranath tried to rescue primary education from that rut.

In spite of the varying emphasis in respect of the aims as pursued in the different countries, *we may draw out some common elements viz.* to ensure physical health and vigour, to help the child's acquaintance with current life and society, to enhance individual skill and capacity to work, to help expression of the innate propensities in a healthy fashion, socialisation and character formation, citizenship training through activities, to foster imagination and thinking, and above all to establish a command of the fundamental tools of learning so that a solid base may be laid for the subsequent stages of education.

It is to be noted that this list of objectives does not include anything like intellectual excellence or mental discipline. Moreover, universality of primary education and the principle of common school necessarily increased the role of the State to provide free and compulsory education for all. Instead of an imposition of book-learning *the modern trend prefers a healthy development of the child through the acquisition of some skills together with ethical and social human values in an atmosphere of freedom and self-directed activities.* In fact, primary education must be *child-centric, life-centric and activity-centric.*

A clear call for freedom of the child had been sounded by Rousseau. Rousseau's ideas were further organised and strengthened (with necessary modifications) by Pestalozzi, Herbert, Froebel, Montessori, Dewey and others. The concept of child-centrism has now been firmly

Child centrism
& Life centrism

established. Theories of child-centrism are based on two premises that (i) the child is a living and growing entity with immense possibilities of development, and (ii) education is a natural process of self expression and self-development. Hence, *the child must be the centre of educational endeavour.*

An analysis of the constituents of child-centrism gives the following features—(a) Complete expression of the child's self in a social environment, (b) experience-centric and attractive curriculum conducive to self-expression, instead of abstract book learning, (c) Psychological methods of instruction rather than abstract and logical, (d) spontaneous expression of innate endowments, (e) activity-centric play-way education, (f) free discipline, (g) close relation between teacher and child, and (h) the school as a home and also as a miniature but improved society. The influence of sociology in the modern era has made it clear that the child's activities must be organised in a social setting and his experiences should be gathered from actual life situations. In fact, *child centric education and life centric education bear the same connotation to-day.*

The curriculum should obviously be so organised as to foster life-centric education. The basic tools of learning should feature prominently in the primary school curriculum, the intensity and span being determined by the chronological growth and mental development of the child in course of the few years of primary education. The curriculum should be common for all with effective reflection of social life, living and practices. Subjects and activities should be so selected that equal emphasis be placed upon physical, intellectual and mental life through creative activities in a democratic setting. The mother-tongue, arithmetic with practical bias, history (in story form), geography and social acquaintance through environmental studies, elementary physical and health sciences, physical training etc. need form the curriculum. Experience should be given through individual and collective activities, practical and creative work, as well as social services. In fact, *activity-centrism should be the guide line.*

The organisation of the curriculum and syllabuses is of no mean importance. The child's mind is an indivisible whole. His experiences and knowledge should be wholistic and comprehensive. Whatever be the form, the total experience must form a correlated totality. Secondly,

Learning by
Doing

if self-activity and self-learning be accepted as principles, the natural corollary should be "Learning by Doing." The Project or the Basic method was organised on this principle. The minimum should never be forgotten that *the child's education must not exceed the limits of the child's needs, demands, capacities and experiences.*

The curriculum for Basic Education had an element of activity and experience centricism. The proclaimed objective was to prepare the child with knowledge, habits, skills and attitudes necessary for healthy individual and social life. The objective was to endow the child with skill he may use in fulfilling his needs for food and shelter in self sufficiency. An activity through a craft would form the basic experience in means and methods of production and distribution, simultaneously ensuring the acquisition of a skill by the child in a socially meaningful situation. All aspects of knowledge were sought to be grafted with the central activity. We must admit that *many aspects of the Basic Education scheme had been pedagogically justifiable* (although its failure to keep pace with the fast developing modern world of innumerable complexities should not be lost sight of). Inability to be integrated with the demands of modern industrial life brought about the failure of the total scheme itself. Yet, the value of productive experience has again featured prominently in Kothari Commission's views on Work-Experience. In the context of these discussions, it goes without saying that *our present curriculum for primary education needs vital changes.*

A pertinent question related to curricular reorganisation in our country is the place of English in the primary stage of education.

There are no two opinions on the issue that the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction at the primary stage. This principle is generally followed in our country too, although the existence of English-medium schools is a sure sign of class-cleavage in education. *This attachment to English is not pedagogical in nature.* It is rather dominated by social and economic considerations.

Pedagogical sciences insist that a second language must not be imposed upon the child till a firm basis of the first language is established. Since the child requires 4/5 years of educational life to acquire a hold upon the mother tongue, expert opinion is opposed to the compulsory introduction of a second language at the primary

stage. This had been the spirit of the Basic Scheme as well as the report of the Mudaliar Commission. But practical problems immediately reared their heads. The Commercial Value of English and the dominance of that language at the higher stages of education could not allow the abandonment of that language. Immediately after the acquisition of independence, English had been totally withheld from the primary stage. But, reversion and rethinking was quick. English from class III was officially recognised although unofficially it was offered even from class I.

Our opinion is that *insistence and over-emphasis upon English at the phase of common, universal education should be avoided*. Of course the cultural value of English cannot be denied. But even a late start need not cause any alarm because the application of Direct, Structural or other modern methods may make good the loss apprehended from late start. It may be mentioned that recently it has been decided by experts and endorsed by the state govt that the mother tongue would be the only language at the primary stage.

Here we come to the *question of teaching methodology*. Our premise in this respect is that the methods of teaching are controlled by the educand's age and mental development, the nature, extent and depth of the learning matter, the duration of the stage of education, the objectives of education, the available aids and appliances and the teacher's capacity. The psychologic peculiarities of childhood are—strong sense perception, an urge for intense observation, the beginning of time & space sense and capacity of abstract thinking, desire for solving "problems," manual dexterity, group spirit and urge to acquire varied experience. *These peculiarities must always be kept into account in the determination of instructional methods*. There need not be any fixed, rigid and tight-jacket method. What-ever the method, attention should be paid to the basic principles that knowledge must start with the concrete and proceed to the abstract, from simple to complex, from known to unknown. Hence, conscious efforts must be made to infuse a practical touch and abundant utilisation of teaching aids. The learning situation must be made joyous. Activities should be profuse '*Learning by Doing*' should be the basic approach. The child being a social individual, attention should be paid simultaneously to individual activity and group activity. The modern methods viz. Winnetka,

Teaching
methods

Batavia, Decroly, Project etc. may be adopted with necessary modifications, particularly with the object of making them conform to the practical conditions of life and education in our country. Guidance is an essential ally of such methods.

Instruction, however, is no end in itself, because education is purposive. Whatever the sort and method, *an evaluation is necessary to assess whether curriculum had been conducive, whether the educand had contributed any self-effort, whether he is fit to proceed to the next stage.* The evaluation must be simultaneously diagnostic and prognostic.

In spite of some reforms by the introduction of objective tests and oral tests, *our present system of examination fails to deliver the desired goods.* In England and elsewhere the total sessional work of the child is taken into consideration. Most of the advanced countries have abandoned external examination of primary school children and introduced a *grade credit system on cumulative basis.* This should be immediately adopted in our country too. In W. Bengal, however, primary final examination has been abandoned.

Moreover, *Examination is not equivalent to Evaluation.* The former takes only "acquisition of knowledge" into consideration, while the latter seeks to measure the varied and total output in respect of physical and mental development including command of speech, aesthetic taste, co-curricular activities etc. Our attempt should be directed towards this end.

Effective evaluation is related with effective guidance in education. Primary education is a stage for universal, compulsory, common education continuously for a few years. At the end of this stage a

The need for Guidance section of the student population may seek employment (particularly as things stand today in our country), another section may enter vocational courses (Kothari Commission recommended compulsory drafting of 20%), and the rest many proceed to general secondary education. The task of educational administration is to *ensure smooth transition from one to the other.* An effective system of Guidance may fulfil this task. The role of guidance is not only to help any particular child to select a course of study or vocation (as is generally conceived), but to help an all round development of each child concomitant with the process of education. Hence, guidance involves a wide concept implying the

participation of teacher, counsellor, parents and medical or psychiatric personnel. *The process should be dynamic and continuous with the object of ensuring the gradual, natural, and even development of the child.* Guidance in the present social complexities is more needed because the present family life, the system of class teaching and other difficulties make any single agency insufficient. Guidance is necessary for individual good and also for social good. The individual aspect of guidance is required for educational development, for selection of vocation, for social adjustment. The social aspect is required for effective family life, citizenship, economic efficiency and social efficiency. *Hence the task of guidance may be divided into three aspects—Educational, Vocational and Adjustment Orientation.*

Guidance at the primary school stage should *try to discover the child*, help his self-development, and help him adjust with environment. For the vocational part, it should help the child's performances, acquisition of habits of work, development of manual dexterity and a co-operative spirit. The means to fulfil these tasks are total evaluation of the child on a cumulative basis in class and out of class situation. Detailed data collected by observation, testing and examination may give a total picture of each child, on the basis of which programmes for individual attention may be developed.

Observation of the child "in action" is best possible through co-curricular activities. *The one-time dichotomy between curricular and extra curricular activities no longer holds good.* The value of Co-curricular activities present tendency is even to abandon the idea of "Co-curricular" work, and to accept every sort of educationally productive activity as curricular activity. Such activities are necessary to dispel monotony, to ensure health and healthy leisure time occupation, to enhance skill and socialisation. They fulfil the mental demands of the child by fostering innocent amusements in healthy group life. *They are socially productive*, because they teach the value of co-operation and develop individual qualities necessary for healthy social life. Proper sentiments, attitudes and values may develop through guided co-curricular activities.

The programme for co-curricular work should, therefore, have *equal bearing upon physical, mental and intellectual aspects of life.* Sports and games, hobbies, excursions, literary activities, school self-

Govt, and a host of other types may be adopted in accordance with practical feasibilities.

Healthy co-curricular work may save the child from maladjustment. Maladjustment may be caused by physical as well as mental factors. Defects of sense organs, handicapped and crippled physique, defective nerves and glands and other congenital factors may cause maladjustment. Similarly, mental imbalance caused by psychic and emotional factors may cause maladjustment.

Maladjustment finds expression in habit disorder, emotional disorder, academic disorder, behavioural disorder and ill mental health. Whatever the mode, the *expression of unnatural behaviour in a social and educational environment is an unmistakable sign of maladjustment*. Unsatisfied desires do cause maladjustment because the individual adopts compensatory behaviour to get a perverted satisfaction. Such perversions may be caused by broken family life, excessive license or excessive repression, unhealthy social environment, inner contradiction etc. In fact, maladjustment creates 'problem children' inspite of their intellectual endowments.

Safety and proper development of the child depends upon solution of his conflicts, healthy fulfilment of his desires and effective guidance.

The task must be jointly shouldered by the home, the school and the guidance services. The responsibility of the teacher as the direct manipulator of the educational environment stands supreme.

(We may, on the background of these discussions, take a stock of the development of primary education since independence.

What we inherited !!

After independence we started with a burst of enthusiasm with the expectation that all our aspirations would be fulfilled and internal and external problems of education solved. What had been the state of affairs in 1947 ?

(1) We had inherited a colonial system of education established by the British rulers to facilitate their exploitation and to produce efficient servants of probity. Free India required to change the very nature and objectives of education in keeping with the national aspiration of a democratic republic advancing with national urge for all round progress.

(2) The unscientific curriculum for the then education had no

relation with life situation. The methods of instruction were old and traditional. Entire school life, including syllabuses, instructions and administration was dictated by the nightmare of examination. We required to change all these.

(3) Technical and vocational education had been ill developed. The few institutions that existed, had not attained due social status. Individual differences and needs of diversified education were least attended to.

(4) There was no state obligation to provide education for all the citizens. Even primary education was not universal or compulsory or free. Expansion of education had been throttled by a thousand devices. Religious, class and caste differences had perforated the educational life of the people. The entire system smarted under the domination of English. In fact, *there was no existence of a national system of education.* We had to start with an aspiration to build one.

The Old Structure Existent In 1947

School education in those days was a *10 year long process*. The lower rungs of secondary stage i.e. classes v & vi constituted the Upper Primary level. With one more year (upto class vii) it was the Middle English stage. With the addition of still one more year (v-viii) it was the Junior High School. Upto this level, English, Vernacular, History, Geography, Mathematics etc. had been compulsory subjects of study. Classes ix and x constituted the complete secondary stage with English, Vernacular, a Classical language, Mathematics as compulsory and two more subjects as additional ones. The first external examination was held at the end of the total school course. This was the dividing line between school education and college education. A few courses were offered after the Matriculation examination viz-2 year Intermediate Arts or Science leading to (i) Medical or Engineering courses (after I. Sc.) or (ii) Bachelorship course (after I. Sc/I. A.). The capstone was the two year M. A./M. Sc. course.

After independence we started with a motivation to reform and improve the system. The Constitution recognised State responsibility in certain aspects of education. Control was divided between the Central and State authorities. The objective of universal compulsory primary education upto an age limit was formally adopted. It was decided to pay special attention to the education of women, adult population, the handicapped and the backward classes and communities.

A policy of attention to professional, technological and vocational education was adopted.

A Commission was instituted to enquire about higher education. One more to enquire about secondary education was established in quick succession. Various committees and panels were formed. Educational planning became a part and parcel of general planning.

Our task would now be to make an assessment of the successes and failures, the developments in the contemporary period, the state of education at *present* and problems there of, so that we may consider the *future* of education from a correct perspective. (We shall discuss the different stages of education separately).

Development of Primary Education

To make our analysis scientific and worth-while we should start with a reference to the evolution of our ideas about primary education.

The remnants of the ancient Indian system of primary education had survived till the 18th Century. But early 19th Century witnessed its practical extinction, particularly after the adoption of the

Historical
retrospect Downward Filtration policy which was its death knell. Primary education began to wither away due to neglect. But this could not continue for long.

Under the impact of objective realities, a changed policy became apparent during Lord Hardinge. Lord Dalhousie added a fresh impetus. The attitude of Indian leaders also became positive. The Govt's duty to primary education was recognised in the Despatch of 1854.

But a real beginning in modern primary education in India was made in 1882. Thereafter, the National Education Movement forced the nation to turn its attention to the need for mass education. The Gokhale Bill in the Central Legislature was a reflection of the then national spirit. The expansion and development of primary education really began with the passing of the provincial Primary Education Acts. The Hartog Committee suggested reform of primary education, its curriculum and the plugging of wastage and stagnation. And lastly Gandhiji's Basic Education was accepted as a national pattern of primary education. It is to be noted, however, that inspite of these stages in the development of modern primary education in India, the question of free, compulsory, universal primary education remained an open question till 1947.

Efforts to introduce Compulsion

As early as 1835, Rev. Adam had suggested one primary school compulsorily in every village. Mahatma Phule of Bombay had been conscious about the need for universal compulsion. The objective condition, however, had not yet been favourable. In 1852, Capt. Wingate, the Revenue Survey Commissioner of Bombay suggested taxation for the education of the children of peasant population. In 1858, Mr. T. C. Hope suggested tax-supported primary schools.

The problem, however, acquired gradual clarity after 1882. The Hunter Commission received appeals and suggestions in this respect. In 1884, the Asst. Inspector of Broach suggested compulsion. In 1885 (the very year of inception) the National Congress adopted a resolution on mass education. Chimanlal Shitalvad and Ibrahim Rahmatullah organised an agitation in Bombay. Compulsory primary education was first introduced in the Native State of Baroda, but Gokhale's Bill was turned down by the officially dominated Central Legislature. The provincial acts also reflected half-heartedness and unnecessary compromise. Upto 1947, therefore, only partial, half-hearted and infractions attempts had been made for compulsory primary education.

Causes of failure were not far to seek. A prime cause lay in the filtration theory. The second major cause was the absence of an urge of a foreign ruling power. That is why compulsive acts were not passed. When expansion was more required, the Causes of failure attention was more turned to qualitative "improvement." The weakness of the national movement was no less responsible. Higher English education had created a gulf between the "classes" and the "masses." The weight of English language was a heavy obstacle. And when consciousness dawned, the administrative obstructions and bunglings blocked the way.

This state of affairs continued even after independence. While in the progressive countries primary education gets $\frac{2}{3}$ or even $\frac{3}{4}$ of the education budget, the proportion is much less in our country. Our primary education is infested with a thousand problems. (1) A good many villages in India have no schools. (2) There are problems of housing, equipment, teacher recruitment, training and emoluments etc. (3) There is the vital problem of life oriented curriculum. (4) Wastage and stagnation constitute a stumbling block. (5) Adult illiteracy affects primary education adversely. (6) There is defect in the system of

financial provisions and marshalling of resources. (7) Growth of population by 1% a year puts a heavy burden upon resources and creates imbalance.

Development of Primary Education under the Plans

Primary education, inspite of countless hurdles, made considerable progress under the 5 year plans. Article 45 of the Directive Principles of the Constitution made a time-bound promise to provide universal, free and compulsory education for children upto 14, in a 10 year period i.e. within 1960. The promise has fallen through and the target has not been reached even after 34 years. Yet, the constitutional admission of the State's responsibility is of great value. Primary education is a State Subject although the States receive financial assistance from the Union Govt, and the said Govt is committed in constitutional terms to achieve compulsion.

Inspite of the lamentable failure to fulfil the constitutional obligation, the expansion of primary education in India since 1947 is a matter of fact. The following data may be referred to.

Percentage of age group 6-11 attending school—

1946-47	= 30%
1950-51	= 42.6%
1955-56	= 52.1%
1960-61	= 62.4%
1965-66	= 76.4%
1971-72	= 77.3%
1974-75	= 85.3%
1978	= about 90%

It is said that universal primary education will be effected in the course of the 6th plan.

Basic Education

Over emphasis upon Basic Education actually hindered the expansion of primary education in the recent years. After independence, the Basic pattern was accepted as the national pattern of primary education. All new schools were planned to be Basic schools.

Assessment & Amendment	All old schools were planned to be reconditioned and altered. A craft was made compulsory in all primary schools. It was decided to prepare Basic-pattern Text Books and to introduce Basic-pattern teacher-training. An
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assessment committee suggested in 1955 that Basic schools should be given equal status with General schools, and Basic education should be declared a stepping stone to higher education. It also suggested a linkage with Community Development Projects, and University level post graduate teacher education in the Basic method. A National Institute of Basic Education was formed and charged with the task of conducting researches in curricula, text book, crafts & equipment, examination etc.

Experience, however, taught us to admit that instead of fixing upon a particular craft, various useful handicrafts like spinning, weaving, gardening, carpentry, leather work, book binding, pottery, domestic work etc. should be accepted as "Basic craft". Integration with natural and social setting should be essentially insisted upon.

In pursuance of these recommendations, the majority of States brought about a uniformity between "primary" education and "basic" education. Yet, basic education could not attain that success as had been expected. *Gandhiji's idealism and philosophical content and the nature of basic education as had been imagined by him have been sacrificed to a great extent.* There is no denying that basic education effected little impression upon the nation and brought about the least revolutionary change in our total educational pattern. There is no secret in the fact that our educational planners and administrators who conducted loud propaganda in favour of basic education actually spared their own children. Basic education became education for the poor, particularly the rural poor while English education remains education for the rich.

It must, however, be admitted that *Basic education achieved some quantitative expansion.* While in 1950-51, Junior Basic Schools in India numbered 33349, the same rose to 66891 at the end of a decade. But this expansion was proportionately low in comparison with the expansion of ordinary primary education in the same time-period. The number of primary schools in India had been 209671 in 1950-51. It rose ten years later to 330999. Hence there was an addition of 130728 units. Out of this total number, however, the traditional primary type accounted for 102186 and the remaining 32542 only were "basic" schools. This four-fold increase of primary-type schools at a time when the basic school was accepted as the national model is an explicit proof of the failure of basic education.

During the sixties, attention to 'basic education' decreased per-

sistently. Popular enthusiasm gradually receded. Faced with the problem of multiplying schools for "expanding" primary education to fulfil the constitutional obligation, the troubled authorities could least discriminate between ordinary primary education and Gandhian basic education. They adopted the principle of "shortest cut."

This failure has its *intrinsic and extrinsic reasons*. Basic education was costlier. The integrated curriculum could not provide room for all the proposed "subjects of study." The present system of teacher-training did not produce teachers capable of handling such an integrated curriculum. Text books in the truly basic pattern were not available. Over emphasis upon Hindi had not been likable to all the states. For some years the complete relegation of English was also not favourably accepted. Equality of status with primary education and proper integration with secondary education had been thorny problems for some years. Real application of craft-centric education in most of ordinary basic schools was farcical. Moreover, attachment to cottage crafts in these day of industrial production could create little impression upon national mind. In fact, Basic Education acquired least popularity in urban areas. Although there had been curricular reforms, and the principle of activity-centrism replaced craft-centrism, yet the selected activity could attain least integration with the socio-economic current of local life.

Failure being apparent, the authorities adopted a policy of hasty retreat by propagating a *compromise between "primary pattern and "basic" pattern of education*. Recommendations of Kothari Commission, however, came to the rescue of educational planners and administrators.

The essence of the Commission's view is that no particular stage or method of education need be termed as "basic". Productive activity which is the central theme of basic education should permeate the spirit of education at all stages. "Work Experience" is, thus, the Commission's name for productive practice correlated with theory.

Other Features of Advancemet

While in 1950-51, the number of training institutions for primary school teachers had been 782 and 58.8% of working teachers were

trained, the number of colleges, as per recent data has been more than doubled and the all India average for teachers' training has exceeded 80% (although with great variations from state to state). Acts for compulsory primary education have been passed in the majority of states. In some of the states integration has been achieved with C.D. Projects. There is, on the all India average, one school for every 3 14 sq. mile area i.e. one school for every 300 of population. (The reality and tenability of such a claim, as well as the propriety of distribution of such schools is, however, questioned by field workers). The National Institute of Basic Education has been responsible for research and planning. And an All India Council helps the Union and State Govts with necessary advice.

Finance and Administration

The Union Govt has a *moral* responsibility in regard to primary education in as much as the implementation of the Constitutional directive ultimately rests in the Central authority. The principle of

Role of the Union Govt. "Common School" has been recommended by the Kothari Commission and incorporated in the National Policy on Education declared by the Union Govt.

The duty to remove imbalance between States and to the implementation of the Common School principle also vest in the Central Govt (although it has no direct executive authority). As said earlier, there are Central agencies for advice, planning and research. The Central Govt also offers financial assistance to States under "planned" and ordinary heads,

Constitutionally, however, primary education is a State subject. The Union Govt is responsible for such education in Union Territories for which there are local departments, officers and A State subject inspectorate. Funds for these areas come from local budget and cess supplemented by Central subsidy.

In the territorial jurisdiction of the state, it is the prerogative of the State Govt to enforce legislations and rules, administer, finance and control primary education. The task is conducted by the state Dept of Education manned by the D.P.I. and the Inspectorate. Some of the states have State Boards of Primary Education. The expenses are borne from revenue receipts supplemented by education cess. Financial assistance is provided under "general budget" and 'Plan' heads.

Although the state Govt. is the ultimate authority, the administration is decentralised in differential degrees in all the states. The administration is stratified at District, Tehsil, Town, Panchayat levels. The forms, powers and functions as well as resources of these administrative units differ from state to state. It deserves special mention that in most of the states Primary Education is 'free', although compulsion is seldom enforced by penal measures.

Role of Local
authorities

resources of these administrative units differ from
state to state. It deserves special mention that in

General Problems of Primary Education

Primary education in India, therefore, has innumerable problems, with slight variations from state to state. We may draw a short list of them, viz (1) The objective of primary education is not as progressive, dynamic and practically oriented as it should have been, and as it could encourage the parents and children with its worthwhileness. (2) The curriculum is not scientific yet. It is still heavy, dry, narrative and inert. It is not based upon interest of the child. Absence of flexibility does not make it helpful to self learning. (3) Defects in curriculum and syllabus is squarely reflected in the text books. Production of uninteresting texts and their maldistribution has been the order of the day, (4) The language policy (with sole emphasis upon the mother tongue) is also not uniform. (5) The so-called difference between primary and basic schools still lingers and thereby affects the implementation of a uniform policy. (6) Inspite of a system of teacher training, the methods of teaching are traditional in the majority of schools, particularly the schools provided for "free" education. (7) Most of the schools are not equipped with necessary furniture, equipment and teaching aids. (8) Co-curricular activity is but an idea. (9) Child-health is rarely cared for. School meals or tiffin depend nearly upon the contributions of humanitarian organisations and foreign aids. (10) There is almost total absence of child guidance to guard against maladjustment of children. (11) The traditional pattern of "examination" and promotion, together with other causes leads to wastage and stagnation on a large scale. (12) The problem of teacher-requirement and training is complex. The availability of better educated youngmen and women for teaching jobs in primary schools is a growing feature. More than 50% of teachers at present are post-

Matriculates and a large number of them are undergraduates or graduates. But the extent of training varies widely from State to State. Although the training of teachers has reached the average mark of 75%, it is 90.7% in Tamil Nadu and about 45% in West Bengal. Training colleges (taking the Indian picture as a whole) are insufficient in numbers. The training courses are dominantly theoretical. The teacher-pupil ratio is contrary to the desired standard. The service conditions adversely affect the job-worthiness of teachers. (13) The absence of requisite land, buildings and provisions of games and physical education is almost shameful. (14) The problem of expansion *with common school practice* and higher standard guaranteed by better administration and control needs little mention. (15) And to crown everything, the provision of finances in these days of rocketing price, fall far short of the need, particularly because of the fact that universal compulsion, even in the ordinary sense of the term, has not been achieved.

Some of the causes need a bit of analysis. *The causes of failure are social, economic, political and pedagogic in nature.*

(1) *The social causes* include the age-old backwardness of certain communities, castes and tribes created by a long history of exploitation and sub-human existence. Illiteracy of parents, conservative social usages and customs, discrimination against girls (including their early marriage) intensify the crisis. Population has been growing by 1% a year while educational provisions are staggering behind. The physical problems created by lack of roads and transport in the rural areas and the mental reservation against co education are no less responsible. Statistical returns show that while the average percentage of children (boys and girls together) receiving primary education in India is about 90, the percentage of girls is as low as 60.

(2) *The pedagogic failures* should be squarely admitted. Primary education must be integrated with the life of the people. The absence of such integration leads to absence of urge. This together with economic and social causes leads to huge wastage and stagnation. The following figures will give a concrete picture of *wastage*.

Out of 100 children in class I

61.2 boys & 56.6 girls reach class II

51.2 boys & 45.1 " " " III

44.8 boys & 35.5 " " " IV

and not even 40% of children reach class VI

It is surely a great wastage of time, human energy and resources. *Stagnation*, the other method of loss is also heavy.

40·3% of boys and 47·1% of girls are not promoted to class II.

25·6% " 33% " " " " class III.

22·1% " 26·6% " " " " class IV.

21·1% " 25·1% " " " " class V.

16·4% " 19·6% " " " " class VI.

At the primary stage there is a heavy *concentration of children in class I*, because a heavy percentage of children fail to adjust with school life and therefore have to recur in that class. It is also to be noted that failure of girls is more apparent. This is not because of an inferiority of girls, but because of inferior attention paid to them by the parents and the society.

Primary education *should be functional in nature*. The knowledge content should be integrated with environmental socio-economic life. In this respect the failure of our rigid curriculum is vitally responsible.

(3) The most tragic failure on the *economic front* is that budgetary provisions have been meagre. While primary education has the biggest claim to public finances, very often funds earmarked for primary education were diverted to other purposes. Budgetary cuts have been a regular feature. The Local Bodies did seldom exert themselves for proper assessment and collection of education cess and never took initiative to augment resources by other means. Budgetary grants were considerably consumed by building or other non-recurring activities. Moreover, the growing cost of living, particularly the incidental costs in education has been adversely affecting not only the paying capacity but also the spirit of the poor. And above all, *child labour* is still prevalent. Parents in the urban slum areas and poor rural areas have to let their children earn their own living in the prime of life. And the society simply condemns the delinquent children and considers its duty as done.

(4) *Socio-political causes* are no less responsible for the sad state of affairs. Compulsory education acts have not been enforced even in States where they are on the statute-book. Employers in industrial and commercial undertakings have not been forced to do anything for the education of their employees' children. Inspection and administration represent unrelenting bureaucracy. The pre-independence national urge for "education" exists no more. Those values are lost.

The only ray of hope, however, is that we have theoretically accepted the *principle of Common School* (though its application is far away) and the concept of "*education for all*" has replaced the concept of "*education for the few*." A vital principle has been incorporated in the constitution and directly or indirectly the State is responsible in the ultimate analysis. (Suggestion for solution of the problems are implicit in our analysis of problems and need not be repeated).

On the background of our successes and failures we should discuss the *future prospects* as they have been depicted by *Kothari Commission*.

Kothari Commission On Primary Education

The Commission admitted the need for quantitative expansion and qualitative improvement. It suggested that (i) primary education should start at C+ and continue thereafter for 7/8 years, (ii) This total period may be subdivided into 4/5 years of Lower Primary followed by 3/2 years of Upper Primary stages. Lower Primary education must immediately be made 'free', while a time bound programme may be adopted for Upper Primary education, (iii) Primary education should be followed by 1-3 years of vocational education or 3-year Lower Secondary education.

The *aim of primary education* would be to lay a good foundation of life as a responsible citizen. Pre-registration system should be introduced and all children of the relevant age-group must be forced to attend school. Simultaneously, effort must be made to *plug wastage and stagnation*. It must be guaranteed that no child leaves school without completing lower primary education and at least 6% complete the 7-year school course.

The *curriculum* must be freed from pedantic matters. Emphasis at the lower-primary stage should be placed upon Language, Elementary Mathematics, and Nature Study. The syllabuses for classes I to IV would consist of 3 Rs, lessons on phenomenal and social environment and health etc. The mother tongue should be the medium of instruction, and not more than one language should be insisted upon. In case the mother tongue of the pupils is different from the regional language, the mother tongue should be accepted as medium, if there are 10 children per class or 40 children in a school speaking a language other than the accepted language. These children should be provided with their own language as medium. They may, however, learn the regional language optionally,

The pace of mental growth of all children at the primary school age being unequal, the *Commission disfavoured the prescription of a common standard for all*. Moreover, classes I & II should together form a cycle at the end of which an evaluation of attainment may be made. Classes III & IV may form another such cycle. All examinations should be internal and evaluation done in *grading system*.

The Commission proposed *social service* with the object of imparting social consciousness. Living a cooperative community life in school, looking after cleanliness and decoration of the class room, white-washing and painting of school building, acquaintance with rural society, participation in community development work, helping the old infirm and crippled may be listed as social service items,

Emphasis was similarly placed upon '*Work Experience*' through paper and clay work, spinning, gardening etc. In this context the Commission expressed a sound opinion about Basic Education. Basic Education has 3 characteristics—(a) productive work, (b) integration of creative activity and environmental life with curricular studies (c) close relation between school and society. These characteristics should permeate the whole field of education through "work experience." No particular type of education or school, therefore, need be characterised as Basic Education or Basic school.

Upper Primary Stage: Teaching and learning process at this stage will be more intensive and extensive. The methods and standards will be more clearly defined. The *curriculum would include* (1) Mother Tongue (or Regional language), (2) One more language—Hindi or English, (a third language may be offered electively), (3) a combined study of Arithmetic and Algebra (4) History, (5) Geography (6) Civics (7) (a) Physics, Zoology and Earth Science in class VI, (b) Physics, Chemistry, Zoology and Astronomy in class VII. These sciences would be presented as distinctive disciplines. Moral education and some productive art or craft should be added to the list.

For *social service at this stage*, the list of activities would include school development work, public health and community development work. *Work-experiences* would include cane and bamboo craft, leather work, pottery, weaving, gardening or farm work. *Examinations* should be internal on a cumulative basis. Oral testing should be added to written examination. District-wise competitive examinations may be held with the object of evaluating the standard of education. Even in that case, certificates and cumulative cards would be issued by

the school authorities. Such examinations may also be held on a voluntary basis to select candidates for scholarships.

The commission opined that like the 'A' course in England, a *superior syllabus* may be provided for the meritorious children. For those who would not proceed to formal secondary education, provisions should be made for alternative *part-time vocational courses*. Admission to such courses should, at the initial stage, be voluntary. But the target should be fixed at vocational courses for 20% by 1985-86.

The problem of providing the necessary numbers of Upper Primary Schools would be much more acute than the same at lower primary stage. Many new schools would be required. The commission, therefore, *phased the admission programme* as follows :

	1970-71	1975-76	1980-81	1985-86
Lower Primary (Class I-IV)	92.0 %	100%		
Upper Primary (Classes V-VII)	50.7%	65.2%	81.3%	90.0%

Progress under the Plans

But the failure of these expectations is already a fact, as will be proved by the following data.

	Expenditure	Coverage of children (percentage)
1st Plan	85 crore rupees	52.1%
2nd Plan	95 " "	62.4%
3rd Plan, Planned	209 " "	76.4%
Actual	179 " "	
4th Plan, Planned	322 " "	target 84.1% (6.82 crore children)
Slashed to	217.87 " "	It was claimed that 100% of
(This was less than 25% of provisions for Education)		age group 6-11 only might be provided with schooling facilities at the end of the 5th plan.

CHAPTER II

Development of Secondary Education Since 1947

As we did in the case of primary education, so we should in the case of secondary education, i.e., start with a general discussion on the nature of secondary education.

The phase of secondary education is the *middle stage of full-length formal education*. At the end of the stage, a section of students may pursue vocational courses, a second section may proceed to higher education, and the rest may not pursue an educational career at all.

Meaning Hence secondary education should be planned as *terminal education* imparting an amount of knowledge and skill which would enable the students to proceed to the next higher stage of education or to the employment market.

Secondary education had, in the olden days, been academic and intellectual education for the fortunate few. But the modern concept is 'secondary education for all.' After 4/5 years of primary education, secondary education now stretches for another Education of the Adolescent period of 7/8 years (11—17/18 age group) i.e. upto the pre-adult stage of life. The period of adolescence, being now considered the period of secondary education which should be open to all, the pattern of school organisation or curricular formation should take the needs of the adolescent into consideration.

Adolescence is characterised by some physical and psychic features viz *increased physical strength* and heightened activity of nerves and muscles, greater physical prowess and working-capacity, greater vigour and agility etc. Distinctive physical signs prove the advent of a new stage of life. This physical growth leads to the need for better food and nourishment, short of which the adolescent falls a prey to consumptive diseases. *Changes occur also in the mental world.* Reasoning and thinking, and reliance on practical experience is a typical mental feature. At the same time, however, hero-worship and love of aesthetic beauty help the adolescent to wade through worldly ugliness. *Emotional exuberance* is no less important. The adolescent develops a

positive self-feeling as well as negative self feeling, elation as well as depression, love of reality as well as day dreaming. Such instability in the adolescent's emotional world may lead to mental conflicts if not sufficient care is taken. Sex impulses which develop at this stage of life may introduce further complexities in the mental and emotional life. The adolescent exhibits intense emotionalism as well as intense group-feeling. Through self-sacrifice and social service, he seeks a self-fulfilment.

These apparently contradictory characteristics of adolescence made Stanley Hall to call it a period of 'storm and stress'. This period is also called a period of "sunshine and shower." While programming education of the adolescent, the Hadow Committee in England remarked that the ship of life might set sail successfully, if properly tackled. If not, a ship wreck was inevitable. Obviously, the education of the adolescent *i.e. secondary education must take into account the needs of the adolescent period of life.*

The needs may be summed up as—(i) *Care and nourishment of body-mind-intellect*: (physical care may be provided in the form of physical exercises, games & sports etc.), (ii) *Care of the emotional life* with the object of attaining proper sublimation and emotional balance; (engagement in joyful and creative activities may lead to sublimation); (iii) *Proper nourishment of intellect*: (the adolescent may question the traditional values, may develop queries about the phenomenal as well as spiritual world, may try to understand the society and seek his own place in it. Hence, a wide intellectual field should be open before him so that he may analyse and compare things by the exercise of his own rationality) (iv) *Proper attention to social life*: (the adolescent develops an intense social feeling and desires to serve the society. He will grow into adulthood and be a full-fledged citizen. Hence social values of co-operation, morality and social efficiency must be brought home to the adolescent.

These aims are not attainable through 'discipline'—physical and mental. The responsibility of the agencies of education is tremendous. The system of secondary education must provide the proper environment for intellectual, mental, physical and social nourishment, so that through joyful and meaningful activity the adolescent may pass on to creative adulthood.

Remarkable individual differences are exhibited during adolescence.

Differences occur in (a) physical formation, (b) emotional expressions, (c) sense perceptions, (d) intellectual acuity etc.

Individual
Differences

The differences are partially caused by innate endowments and partially by environmental influences.

Ideals, sentiments, attitudes differ widely from person to person. Such differences may be subjected to measurement by modern techniques. If we recognise such differences, we cannot recommend the same type of education for all the adolescents. The concept of diversified education with the object of taking individual differences and possibilities into account is a contribution of the modern educational thoughts.

But extreme individuation is contrary to the principle of social cohesion. Obviously, the educational programme for the adolescent *must serve the needs of the individual as well as the demands of the society*. These ideas have found due recognition in the modern principles of curriculum construction for secondary education.

Evolution of Ideas about Secondary Education

In the pre-modern days, the Latin Grammar Schools had been the secondary schools in most of the European Countries. With emphasis upon classics and ancient literature in their curricula, these schools responded to the needs of the aristocracy, the question of secondary education for the ordinary "plebeian" child being completely absent. After the Renaissance, however, attachment to mother tongue and national culture began to develop. And 18th Century from Mediaevalism to Modernism Enlightenment introduced a scientific trend in secondary education. Mother tongue, Mathematics and the Sciences found place in the curriculum together with Philosophy and ancient languages. Further changes occurred in the 19th Century. With the advent of industrial economy the need was felt for more dynamic, practical and objective type of secondary education.

Meanwhile, the growth of the democratic ideals also influenced the concept of secondary education. The demand for "secondary education as a universal right" became gradually irresistible. Women and working people came into the focus. Curriculum had to be oriented under pressure of the new trends. The findings of biology, physiology, psychology and sociology could not but influence secondary education.

Modern psychology considers that the whole length of adolescence should be the period of secondary education. Prolongation of the secondary stage became a practical proposition. In consideration of the fact that most of the students may enter life at the end of secondary education, the stage was accepted as terminal in nature. It is now admitted that secondary education should foster individual development on the one hand, and social cohesion on the other. The current trend is to vocationalise secondary education and to impart a production-orientation through actual productive experience together with academic knowledge.

Evolution of Concept in India

Our modern system of education was planted by a foreign ruler. As a distinctive element of colonial-type education, secondary education was made bookish and academic and examination-dominated, leading to university education. *The first signs of change were reflected in the recommendations of the Hunter Commission.* But a really rebellious attitude was exhibited during the National Education Movement. The Sadler Commission's recommendations represented a further change in outlook in favour of a longer and complete secondary education of a diversified nature. This trend was further strengthened by the Hartog Committee, the Abbot-Wood Committee and the Sargent Committee.

Independence made the question of reforms a real issue. The Mudaliar Commission recommended a type of secondary education as it thought best for an independent, democratic, developing country. A fresh review was made by the Education Commission of 1964-68 which recommended an integrated system of education for adolescence with efforts for gradual universalisation, vocationalisation and uniform & common education upto 16+.

Thus, the concept of secondary education in our country also advanced in a process of evolution. From the last century till the early part of the present century it had been theoretical, monotype, humanistic and liberal education for the few. Thereafter, the ideas got fastened to democratic ideals and recognition of the need for meaningful education. In the present phase, we have accepted equality of opportunity and vocationalisation as our guiding principles.

Aims of Secondary Education

The concept of education having changed, the aims of education also changed from phase to phase as required by socio-economic changes.

Various experiments were conducted in different countries to determine whether secondary education should aim at job-worthiness or preparation for life or vocational specialisation. *A balance now has been struck that the aims should be* (i) attention to health, (ii) Command of fundamental processes, (iii) capacity to live an effective family and social life, (iv) citizenship qualities, (v) vocational preparation, (vi) exercise of intellect, (vii) aesthetic taste and emotional balance, (viii) education for productive use of leisure, (ix) character formation. Advanced countries, however, place differential emphasis upon particular aspects of these aims as demanded by their state of things and their needs.

Aims in India under British rule had been naturally narrow. The *Secondary Education Commission* in post-independence period proposed the aims of (i) preparing citizens of a sovereign democratic republic (ii) preparation of individuals with integrity, personality, (iii) character formation of the adolescent, (iv) production of citizens with vocational skill, (v) training of middle grade cadre for economic enterprises. And lastly the *Indian Education Commission* proposed that the aim would be the training of productive and creative citizens, material values being combined with spiritual values. Acquaintance with productive work and social life together with acquaintance with science, mathematics and social sciences will create inspired contributors to national development and social integration.

Curriculum for Secondary Education

The aims of secondary education must control the secondary curriculum. There are other considerations to be made viz. the student's age, his physical and mental characteristics, the length of secondary phase of education, the availability to teachers and teaching aids etc. The curriculum should take into consideration the *needs of the individual student as well as the needs of society*. The curriculum must not be over burdened with theoretical bookish knowledge. The relative values of subjects should be assessed. The

subjects of study must help the *conservation of heritage* while simultaneously they must have *utility value* in social and national life. The curriculum may be diversified and some vocational bias may be infused, but *this is no stage for extreme specialisation*.

Secondary school curriculum in India upto 1956 had been narrow, bookish, one sided and academic in nature. It had not recognised the fact of individual differences. The Mudaliar Commission brought about a change by the Core-Periphery system and by the streaming of studies. But this scheme was infested with the inherent danger of mechanical application and early specialisation. The principle of selection and guidance was defeated in the process of bureaucratic implementation of the scheme.

The Kothari Commission had to reconsider the entire question and retrieve the situation by making a few vital suggestions that, (i) education upto the lower secondary stage should be general and common for all, (ii) vocational courses should be offered parallel with 'academic' courses and should be treated as secondary education, (iii) the higher secondary stage should provide for free selection of subjects, (iv) streamwise division of studies should be abandoned, (v) an element of vocationalisation and socialisation should be infused at this stage, and (vi) the curriculum may be constructed at ordinary and advanced levels.

Co-curricular Work

Curricular work and co-curricular work should go together. In selecting the types of co-curricular activities, attention should be paid to the psychological peculiarities of adolescence. Productive and socialised co-curricular activities may save the children from delinquency and unhealthy gang influence. The selected activities should have pedagogical, social and moral implications. Moreover, student-welfare services should be tagged with co-curricular activities.

Unfortunately, however, *provision of co-curricular work is scanty in our country*. Science Club, Hobby Club, House System are recent additions to Scout and Guide movements. Occasionally some social functions or cultural competitions are organised. The provisions demand vital and immediate improvements.

Guidance in Secondary Education

Scientific curriculum and successful utilisation of the same by adolescent children demands the help of guidance. The young

traveller on the road to life requires help to select the proper path. To render such help is the task of guidance.

Guidance may be educational, with the object of helping the child select the most suited courses of study, and it *may be vocational* with the object of helping him to select the best suited vocation. Guidance will not solve the problems of particular children only. It is necessary for all children. The process of guidance being inseparable from the process of education, the work will be all-embracing so much so that the children will be placed under constant and continuous study in school and out of school, in class and in play fields. At the individual level, the task of guidance will consist of (i) aid to build up a balanced family and social life, (ii) help to use time properly, (iii) help to select the future course of action, (iv) supply information about financial assistance, (v) keep watch on the child's health, and (vi) help to develop an organised personality. The guidance programme should look after the need of the gifted children equally with the needs of the retarded. No education being unpurposeful, the work of guidance is to draw out the maximum benefit from the educational situation.

Types of School

Diversification being an accepted principle of secondary education in many countries, a variety of schools has been a natural development. England has a few types like the Modern School, the Technical High School, the Grammar School, Comprehensive School, Bilateral School etc. America has Agricultural, Commercial, Domestic Science and Technical High schools, apart from the most common Comprehensive school.

In India too there are different types of secondary schools which may be classified on the basis of curricular provisions as well as ownership basis. (a) There are separate schools for boys and girls as well as co-educational schools, (b) Morning, Day, Evening or Residential schools (c) schools maintained by the Govt. (d) schools with English medium and with Regional language as media, and (e) Junior secondary, Secondary, Higher Secondary types of schools.

Examination

The question of examination is inseparable from the educative process. In many other countries basic reforms of examination have been effected. In spite of our recognition of need, very little has so far

been done. The system and pattern of examination established by the British rulers still continues with slight changes in details.

Defects of Examination Changes in the art of questioning have been recently attempted. Yet, essay type questioning, suggestion mongering and unfair means are still rampant. A gradation or a point-scale has not gone into practice. Students are not allowed to elect 'subjects for examination'. The requirement of 'pass' in every subject or groups of subjects and pass in aggregate causes huge casualties.

To retrieve the situation, Kothari Commission suggested two terminal examinations at the end of class X and at the end of class XII. The examination should be processed at two levels. The certificate should simply mention the score for each subject. Students may achieve success in all subjects by compartmental examinations. The recommendations, however, are still partly 'suggestions'.

On the basis of the above discussion we may trace the development in our country.

Historical retrospect: As discussed in Part I, modern secondary education began in the 19th century as (1) education of the upper classes with (2) Western content and (3) English as medium. Till the middle of the 19th century, there was absence of an integrated system of education, with a system of administration. In consequence of the Despatch of 1854, a State system was established and subsequently controlled by the Dept of Education through the Grant-in-aid process.

Taking advantage of Grants, and under the impact of fast growing national consciousness, modern secondary education achieved rapid expansion and thereby created its own problems in respect of curriculum and administration. Early measures in this direction were suggested by the Hunter Commission. It allowed priority to non-official Indian enterprise and recommended the introduction of parallel academic and practical courses.

Obstacles to the expansion of secondary education were partly removed by the Hunter Commission. Considerably repaid expansion of education thereafter gave rise to the twin problems of (i) erosion of standards, and (ii) crisis of unemployment because of the domination of one way, university oriented, academic education. Lord Curzon sought to achieve qualitative improvement and quantitative control through stringent administration. His efforts were, however, defeated

by the simultaneous National Education Movement which in its turn created the urge for educational reforms.

The first positive recommendations for reforms were made by the Sadler Commission. Thereafter various committees viz, Hartog Committee, Abbot-Wood Committee offered suggestion in quick succession. And lastly, the Sargent Committee presented a Comprehensive Plan of reforms. Basic reforms were, however, not implemented till 1947.

After 1947

The first committee of experts to speak about secondary education after independence was the Tarschand Committee (1948-49). This Committee suggested 5-year primary education, 3-year pre secondary education (or Senior Basic) and 4-year Secondary education i.e. 12 years education before admission to university courses. It also suggested diversified courses and one terminal examination. Contemporaneously with it, the Rii Choudhury Committee in West Bengal suggested reformation of secondary education. The Universities Commission, 1948-49 (Radhakrishnan Commission) also made illuminating remarks on secondary education. The cumulative effect of these developments was the institution of the *Secondary Education Commission* (1952-53) i.e. Mudaliar Commission to make recommendations on all aspects. On the basis of their recommendations the Higher Secondary Scheme was introduced in 1956.

Mudaliar Commission

The commission *defined the objectives* of Secondary education as (1) preparation of democratic citizens of a sovereign republic, (2) preparation of full fledged men with all round personality, (3) character development of the youth and adolescent, (4) impartation of productive and vocational skill to future citizens, and (5) preparation of middle grade leaders and cadres necessary for the nation's advancement. With these objectives the Commission proposed self contained and complete secondary education upto 17+. Such education would be (i) preparatory for those who would proceed to the University and (ii) terminal and life oriented for those who would join life's avocations.

The structure of School Education System would be: 5-year primary education, 3-year Lower Secondary, followed by 4-year Higher Secondary stage i.e., a total of 12-year school education. Compulsory

education would end at the terminal point of lower secondary education i.e. class VII (14+), at the end of which trade and vocational structural pattern schools would be provided for those who would enter them. Similarly, at the end of the higher secondary stage, technical and professional courses would be followed. The complete period of higher secondary education would be followed by 3-year Undergraduate degree courses in arts, sciences, and commerce.

The commission made extensive recommendations on curricular reorganisation. (1) The curriculum for the lower secondary stage would be undiversified, general and common for all children. (2) Curriculum for the higher secondary stage would meet the needs for (a) social integration on one hand, and (b) individual specialisation on the other. "Core" subjects would contribute to social integration and cultural uplift through common general education. "Peripheral" subjects based upon selective principle would foster individual bias for professional or vocational skill. The peripheral courses would be organised in 7 streams in accordance with the different activities prevalent in social life. The 7 streams would be Humanities, Sciences, Agriculture, Technology, Commerce, Domestic Sciences, Fine Arts. Each stream would consist of several subjects out of which the students would make their choice. Choice of subjects within the stream might be altered, but the student would not be allowed to go out of bounds of the stream. For the first two years of the higher secondary stage (classes IX and X), emphasis would be placed upon the core subjects i.e. there would not be any emphasis upon specialisation. Emphasis would gradually be shifted to peripheral subjects in the two subsequent years (Classes XI & XII), so that specialisation might ensue.

Apart from these fundamental suggestions regarding the aims and pattern of secondary education, the Commission also made *other vital recommendations*. (a) It proposed a three-language formula (State Language, Regional Language and English); (b) Combination of theory and practice in the educative process; (c) adoption of dynamic teaching methods to make self contained and terminal education really effective, meaningful and worthy; (d) Reform of examination to make it a real evaluation and thereby reduce university mindedness; (e) Guidance and Counselling system to select students for the different streams; (f) health and welfare services for students; (g) Extensive co-curricular

activities to foster creativity, character formation and socialisation of children; (h) Better emoluments, terms of service and better teacher-preparation to ensure a supply of better teachers for higher secondary education; (i) formation of a Board of Secondary Education for each State with 25 members (including 10 experts in technical and vocational education) under the Chairmanship of the D.P.I.

(Immediately after the publication of the Mudaliar Commission Report, the De Committee was formed in West Bengal. This Committee also supported the recommendations of the previous Commission, with the exception that it suggested certain changes in the formation of the State Board of Secondary Education)

Progress of Secondary Education Under the Plans

Contrary to the recommendations of the Mudaliar Commission as well as the preceding Committees and Commissions and the succeeding De Committee for a 12 year school course, the 'experts' on the *Central Advisory Board of Education* (C.A.B.E.) simply reduced the length while retaining the pattern and weight of curricular studies. Many of the subsequent problems originated therein. The 11 year school' amended scheme was implemented with effect from education the 2nd Plan period. In spite of many pitfalls, secondary education made some headway in course of the Plans. The following figures stand self-evident. Number of Secondary Schools in India in 1947=12693. Figures (subsequent) are:

(a) Lower Primary					
or	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66	1976-77
Senior Basic Schools—	13596	21730	48613	55757	
Percentage of 11-14					
group covered	12.7	16.5	22.5	29.5	41.4
(b) Secondary Schools	7283	10838	17257	21156	
Percentage of the 14-17					
group covered	5.3	7.8	11.7	15.0	24.0
(c) Higher Secondary					
Schools	—	255	2115	2445	2625
(d) No of Teachers'	53	107	278	312	320
Colleges : Percentage					
of teachers trained—					
(i) Lower Secondary	53.3	58.5	66.5	63.4	84.9
(ii) Secondary + H.S.	53.8	59.7	64.1	66.2	81.2

	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66	1976-77
(e) Number of students		(42.1% of 11-14 group)		1 84 crores	
		and		1 03 crores	
		(i.e. 25.9% of 14-17 group)			

(f) Expenditure under the Plans--

1st. Plan = 20 crore rupees. 3rd. Plan = 103 crore rupees.

2nd .. = 51 ,, ,, 4th .. 126.25 ,, ,,

For the administration of secondary education there is an All India Council (attached to the C.A.B.E) and State Boards. The Municipalities are not debarred by law from undertaking the task of providing secondary education in urban areas. Very little, however, has been done in this respect.

An Assessment

Some measures were no doubt adopted ostensibly for qualitative improvement, as a matter of principle. (1) Secondary education has, in our country too, been accepted as "education for the adolescent". We also accepted (at least in our declarations) the principle of "secondary education for all." But our goal is not in sight. Universal secondary education in India is still a dream, and it may not be a reality even in a quarter of a century next.

(2) We have adopted a more progressive aim of secondary education than it had been in British days.

(3) Some scientific modern tendencies in education viz. democratic, economic and social aspects of education and a positive attitude towards technical and vocational education were reflected in the pattern of education.

But failures and drawbacks outweigh these positive features. (1) The length of higher secondary education was reduced by one year (in contravention of commission and committee suggestions), while the weight of subject contents was not proportionately reduced. (2) Syllabuses for different subjects became inordinately long and bookish. (3) Correlation between subjects (as had been suggested by Mudaliar Commission) was not provided and every subject remained independent. (4) The examination system was not basically reformed. Heaviness of syllabuses and shortness of time combined with each other to force cramming upon students. (5) Teaching-learning process remained traditional.

(6) Practice was seldom combined with theory. (7) Co-curricular activities and education for leisure could least be attended to. (8) The selection of a definite 'stream' at the end of class VIII and unchangeable pursuit of the track was psychologically and pedagogically unscientific. (9) The system could not be life-centric. Merge scope of vocational education forced the students to throng at the gate of the university, although many of the stream-wise subjects were not offered at the collegiate level. On the other hand proper integration with primary education also remained unachieved. (10) In short, higher secondary education could neither be preparatory education for a higher stage, nor a terminal education preparing for life.

There were defects also in administration and organisation. Selection of location for new schools had been either unplanned or subject to interests other than educational. Wide differences existed between provisions in urban and rural areas, causing inequality in educational opportunity. Teacher recruitment had been faulty. The incidence of teacher-training varied from state to state, between 30% and 90%. Unscientific selection of streams led to erosion of standards. In the matter of school management, the uncoordinated policies of multiple authorities viz Govt Dept, Secondary Education Board, Managing Committees and parents' councils has been a daily experience. All these factors explain why immediately after the introduction of H. S. Scheme, voices were raised for fresh reforms. The demand became persistent. Reforms were suggested by Kothari Commission.

Administrative
failures

Numerical progress has surely been achieved. But the pace of girls' education has not been as it could be expected. Even very recently there were, at the lower primary stage, only 35 girls for every 100 boys. 78% girls attended boys' schools (mostly in rural areas). 26% of candidates at the H. S. examination were girls.

Parents had to bear a great burden for expansion of secondary education. The following figures are self-explaining :

(a) 16.4% children in classes V-VII, paid tuition fees to cover 7.4% of the total cost.

(b) 64.8% of children in classes VIII-XI paid tuition fees which covered 39.2% cost.

(c) 72% of children in secondary-level vocational schools paid fees to cover 17.2% of expenses. In the course of the last few years, the

situation has improved because of free secondary education provided in many states.

Other expenses (for books, paper and equipment etc) are prohibitive. The upward trend has recently reached an all time record. Economic and social causes force children to give up secondary education. The percentage of students in class VI was found to be 22.6% of what it had been in class I. Defective syllabus, teaching methods and examination cause tremendous wastage 14% of boys and 17.3% of girls recur in class VI. The figures for class VIII are boys 14.2% and girls 16.4%. For the last few years 50% pass in higher secondary education has been acclaimed as "good".

In spite of all these defects, some attempts were made in the first four plans to establish 'free' secondary education. Free education for both boys and girls was provided in Andhra, Jammu-Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Karnatak, Gujrat, Maharastra, Rajasthan, Panjab etc. Free education 'for girls only' had been provided in Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Behar and West Bengal till 1977. Various other advantages were offered in the States. Meanwhile the Kothari Commission made far reaching recommendations.

Some General Problems of Secondary Education in India

Secondary education in India is infested with many problems, a few of which may be discussed here. These problems are of general nature and are common to all the States in variant degrees of depth and nature.

(A) *The Problem of Language* has two facets, language as medium of instruction, and languages that should find place in the curriculum. The first question has by now been solved in favour of the *Mother Tongue*. It should, however, be noted that English medium secondary education has now been more prevalent and extensive than it had been under British Raj. Commercial value and job worthiness of English, advantageous position of English in higher education of a technical nature, facilities of foreign tours with a command of English are some of the reasons thereof. Class distinction in education has made English a medium of education for the better off classes. It has become an insignia for social status. In fact, "English Education" has acquired more of an economic value than a cultural value. A reaction to this, however, is already evident.

The second question is related to the determination of the *number of languages to be learnt* and selection of those languages. Under British Rule, English had been the medium of instruction. The mother tongue and a classical languages had been given the second and third positions respectively. By the time of Provincial Autonomy, the Mother Tongue was given the first place, English the second and classical language the third. *Although mother tongue was made the medium, the importance of English remained as before.*

The situation was slightly altered after Independence. The claim of an All India State Language was added to the claim of the earlier three. Controversies took no time to ensue and generate sufficient heat. The *Mudaliar Commission recommended a three language formula for secondary education* i.e. (i) Mother Tongue (or the Regional language), (ii) English and (iii) Hindi. A classical language might also be taken on elective basis. This formula was, in general terms, applied with slight amendments in different States. In West Bengal, for example, the formula became (i) Mother tongue all through the school stage, (iii) English from class V all through, (ii) Hindi at the Junior Secondary stage only, and (iv) Sanskrit (compulsorily) in the two upper grades of junior secondary education. But controversies did not die down and the status of English continued to create rancour.

The *Kothari Commission recommended a new and improved three-language formula* with Mother Tongue, Hindi and English. It suggested—(a) Only mother tongue (or regional language) at the lower primary stage (b) addition of Hindi or English at the Upper Primary stage, (c) Mother tongue, Hindi or English and one modern Indian language (other than the mother tongue) or any modern European language at the lower secondary stage, (d) Mother tongue and one of the other languages listed in (c) at the higher secondary stage. (e) A classical language might be electively taken from class VIII.

Evidently *the Commission disfavoured English before class V, suggested only elective study of the classics and recommended 3 languages at the lower secondary and 2 at the higher secondary stages. The language burden would gradually rise and then fall in the fashion—1—2—3—2.*

This formula, after being discussed at the State Education Ministers' Conference, Central Advisory Board and Education

Committee of the Parliament, was incorporated in the National Policy Resolution on Education with the suggestion that apart from Mother Tongue and English, the third language should be *Hindi in the non-Hindi regions and any other modern Indian language (preferably a Southern one) in the Hindi speaking regions*

The application of this formula has, however, been half-hearted. The importance of English is still considered dominant for all practical purposes. The third language is seldom given any importance. In West Bengal, English found an important place even in primary classes. Hindi acquired an unimpressive position. Compulsory Sanskrit simply satisfied a fad. English and Bengali, therefore, reigned supreme.

It should be remembered that *monolingual education is seldom possible these days*. In most of the progressive countries two or three languages are offered compulsorily or optionally at the secondary stage. Language learning need not be frightful if the proper method of effective education in all the subjects, at all the stages, be available and followed. The crisis in our country may be greatly relieved through standard text books in the regional languages and if such languages are given due recognition in all official and non-official purposes and for all economic and social intercourses.

(B) *Problem of curriculum and teaching personnel* is no less acute. A difference had crept into social valuation between secondary and higher secondary education. Technical and Agricultural streams never found roots. Most of the higher secondary schools offered only the humanities stream, and that too with a few subjects for individual selection. Proper integration was not achieved between academic and vocational education. Counselling service had been literally absent.

Higher secondary education of a good standard required the services of academically proficient teachers, particularly teachers for scientific and technical subjects, for the rural areas, for girls' schools etc. But the problem of recruitment was infested with problems of competition in the employment market. Recruitment of efficient personnel necessitated the payment of handsome salaries. In comparison with salaries in other occupations for equal academic proficiency, the salaries in the teaching profession remained far low. Effective motivation could by no means be expected.

Proficiency must be supplemented with Professional skill i.e. training. The training period for a secondary teacher is less than a year. Book learning still dominates. Teaching practice is given a rear seat. Aids and appliances are seldom used even in the training process. Instead of enhancing skill, the training process ends in theoretical packing. Drawback in quantitative progress is no less glaring. While other states are much in advance of West Bengal, this eastern state lags behind with less than 60% of teachers being trained and with a considerable backlog. Every year 4500 vacancies are filled in with new hands. This augments the problem of teacher preparation. While the existing training colleges in the state may turn out 6500 trained personnel only per year, the administrative authorities have sealed the possibilities of the growth of new colleges although there are demands and resources. Deputation allowances granted to in-service trainees was persistently reduced. This was a typical load-shedding device. Situation in other states is no better.

(C) The *problem of deteriorating standards* is no less acute. Sadler Commission had opined 60 years ago that good university education must be based upon good secondary education. Since then, voices of warning had been raised by various commissions. Mudaliar commission had suggested 12 year school education with the expectation of providing a sound basis for university education. But the contrary has been happening in practice.

Deterioration in standards had many intrinsic and extrinsic reasons—(a) Introduction of an eleven year course (instead of 12 years suggested by Mudaliar Commission) had imposed an unhealthy pressure upon young learners. (b) The rigidity of the stream system had not allowed a free operation of the abilities of children. (c) "Guidance" was a farce. (d) Academic and theoretical studies were not suited to all learners. (e) Paucity of aids and defects in teaching methods had been harmful. (f) Teachers were not available for all subjects at all places. (g) Library and ancillary facilities were meagre. (h) Examination procedure remained defective. (i) Commercial circulation of made-easies and question-answer books sapped the intellectual alertness of students, and (j) Indiscipline caused by unhealthy influences destroyed academic motivation, (k) Political pressure groups created the worst havoc.

(D) *The Problem of Student-indiscipline*: The above-noted factors are partially responsible for students' unrest. Indiscipline,

however, has many more causes some of which are created in the school situation and some others are created by extraneous forces. In any case, *indiscipline occurs only when the educand is maladjusted with the educational environment*. The maladjustment may be spiritual as well as physical.

A student with decrepit health cannot but be inattentive and gradually indisciplined. The child who could never acquire good habits since childhood, cannot be disciplined in school. If the subject-content is too heavy and stiff for the mental standard of the child, he will be indisciplined. If it is too easy, he will again be indisciplined, because he will take every chance to fritter away his extra energy. Gap between aspirations and capacities is a sure cause. Lack of scientific teaching, lack of activities, leisure and joy mingled with studies are sources of unrest. Excessive punishment is a sure cause. Handicapped and backward children may cause indiscipline among their fellows by allowing them a chance to tease. Even minor difficulties like lack of air and light in the class room, defects in sitting arrangements, invisibility of the black-board, inaudibility of the teacher's voice may cause indisciplined behaviour. Above all the examination system is an undoubted source.

Absence of cordial relation between teacher and taught causes indiscipline. Partial attitude of the teacher, injury to adolescent sensitiveness, lack of teacher's idealism will cause indiscipline among students. The student becomes self disciplined if and when education becomes purposive. The student feels an internal urge if the environment is free from maladjustment, and the student finds ample scope for attentive self employment. *This is real discipline, not fetter.*

At present, however, there are *causes of indiscipline which invade the school from outside*. When the adolescent, by his nature, becomes conscious of the world, becomes socially minded and searches for ideals, it cannot be expected that he would remain unimpressed by unhealthy and unethical social, political and moral influences from the bigger society.

Group life is a character of adolescence. *Unhealthy group influence* is often super-imposed upon individual spirits. Gangsterism is a sure product of such unhealthy influence. The situation is made worse by unhealthy sex influences. Individual and group delinquency finds expression in adolescent hooliganism.

Although the bigger society is vitally responsible for student indiscipline, the role of the school and the teacher in ameliorating the situation cannot be belittled.

(We shall discuss the problem of examination as a source of indiscipline when we take up the questions of educational administration in a subsequent part of the book.)

It should also be understood that *indiscipline of school children is not same as unrest among youth population at the higher stages of education*. The latter problem will be discussed in a latter part of the book.

(B) *Administrative and other problems* : Secondary education is a State subject, although in these days of planning the Union Govt's indirect role has to be recognised. At the State level, it is a joint responsibility of the Board and the Ministry. Local Bodies play a minor role. *Impact of social forces helped the solution of some problems while they gave rise to new problems*. Some expansion has been achieved, but plan-targets remained always unattained. 'Craft', 'Social Studies' and 'General science' as had been adopted in the H. S. curriculum remained unproductive. The goal of equal opportunity and Common School is far off. Differences between urban and rural facilities, between schools for the rich and schools for the poor are wide. Secondary education has not been integrated with the life-situation of the pupils, nor with the economic life of the community. Problem of land and buildings—both in rural and urban areas, problems of girls' education, problems of backward communities and tribes, and problems of teaching aids still continue unabated.

Many of these minor problems have their roots in financial stringency. The First Plan allotment for secondary education had been Rs. 20 crores, which was raised to 51 crores in the 2nd Plan and 103 crores in the 3rd Plan. This amount was 21.6% of the total allotment for education. No state budget allots the requisite amount for education. (West Bengal before 1977 allotted about 20% of the budget, and a fraction of the allotment was earmarked for secondary education). As a result the cost of secondary education had to be largely borne by poor parents. Even three years ago 63% of children at lower secondary stage paid tuition fees which covered 74% of expenditure. (The case of West Bengal may be cited in particular).

The situation may be partially relieved by adopting the following measures :—(a) Acquisition of land for school by Govt notification.

(b) Construction of school buildings by the P. W. D. (c) Supply of aids and appliances from nationalised industries, and establishment of other factories for the same. (d) Production of school books with Govt subsidy. (e) Augmentation of funds by taxation, by freezing the black money of income tax dodgers etc.

Our problems were many, and there could be no progress without solution of the problems. On this background we should consider reforms suggested by Kothari Commission for a future set up of secondary education.

Kothari Commission on Secondary Education

The commission enunciated objectives of Secondary education, suggested a reformed structural pattern and curricular reorganisation.

The *aims of secondary education would be* to provide a solid basis of general education for democratic citizenship, on the basis of which education the individual would be able to proceed to (i) higher education, (ii) education for specialisation, (iii) various forms of technical and vocational education and, (iv) employment for living.

The integrated total period of secondary education may be advantageously divided into two inter-related sub-stages—(a) Lower Secondary stage (class VIII/IX to X), and (b) Higher secondary stage (classes XI and XII).

Lower Secondary Education: Subjects studied at the Upper Primary stage would be more intensively studied at this stage. The Curriculum would consist of (1) Three languages. (Mother tongue/Regional language, State/associated State language, any other modern Indian language), (2) Physics, (3) Chemistry, (4) Zoology, (5) Botany, (6) History, (7) Geography, (8) Civics (9) Physical and moral education and (10) any Fine Art.

In the matter of *social service*, special emphasis would be placed upon Community Development work. Compulsory social work for ten days per year or consolidated 30 days for the 3 years of lower secondary stage would be insisted upon. *Social Service and Work Experience* Wood work, Metal work, Leather work, Carpet making, Book Binding, Tailoring, Printing work etc, should feature in

Work Experience programme. To make work-experience production-oriented, efforts should be made to forge a direct link with farm or factory work.

There would be *no specialisation or diversification* of studies at this stage. Upto class X, the courses will be common and general. At the end of this stage, an external examination will be the terminal point. Admission targets were fixed at =

1970 - 71	1975 - 76	1985 = 86.
23.4%	29.1%	46% of the concerned

age group. The objective would be a gradual diversion of 50% of children to vocational courses of 1 to 3 year duration. This would necessitate the establishment of part/full time institutions to receive children at the end of 7th/8th grade. These Industrial Training Institutes and Technical Schools would prepare the students for practical jobs. Diversion would be phased as—

1970-71	1975-76	1985-83
3.8%	6.4%	20%

Higher Secondary Education: The objective at this stage would be to enlarge and strengthen the foundation of general education together with an orientation to specialisation. But, complete specialisation being considered inadvisable, the stream system of Mudaliar Scheme would be abolished. Subjects offered under the Technical, Agricultural, Fine Arts, Domestic Sciences and Commerce streams should properly be placed in polytechniques or industrial and agricultural institutions. Hence, Higher Secondary Education would also be General Education in the Sciences and Humanities.

The Curriculum would consist of (a) 2 languages (as discussed earlier), and (b) 3 elective subjects. The election would not be limited to either arts or science. Free selection would be permitted. Principle of election being recognised, the study of sciences would not be compulsory, but liberal arrangements should be made for the study of science subjects in conformity with rural or urban environments. Agricultural Science would be accorded proper recognition as a Science. Although no special syllabus would be provided for girls, Domestic Sciences, Music, Fine Arts may be enlisted as elective subjects. Half of the reading time would be devoted to the elective subjects, $\frac{1}{2}$ to the languages and $\frac{1}{2}$ to physical education and other co-curricular work. Work Experience would be provided in fields

and factories. Life in labour-camp would meet the demand for social service. Ten days a year or consolidated 20 days in two years in a labour camp and six hours work a day would meet the requirement. Organisation of the curriculum at Ordinary and Advanced levels might be a special feature. Proficiency certificates on the basis of the terminal external examination would be issued by the Board. The certificate would record only the marks obtained in each subject without mentioning any aggregate pass or fail. Students might take Compartmental Examinations. School-evaluation and certificate would accompany the external certificate.

The targets for schooling provision in terms of percentage of the concerned age group were—

1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	1980-81	1985-86
7%	9.2%	11%	14.8%	20.4%

All students would not pursue the general course. Alternative vocational courses would draft students in the following phases :

1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	1980-81	1985-86
40.6%	43.1%	45.5%	47.9%	50%

This vocational education, either part time or full time, would be provided in factories, Polytechniques, I T. Is, Sandwich Courses and Agricultural Polytechs. 3 year Certificate or Diploma courses would be initiated in Commerce, Cottage Industries, Public Health, Public Administration etc

The commission recommended a rapid expansion of secondary education so that all children of lower secondary age group might be provided with attendance facilities by 1985. Such expansion would require 75000 additional teaching posts per year. Hence, Teacher Training should have a considerable priority in educational budgets.

A Critique

The Commission did its duty by making farflung recommendations unconcerned of the fate of those suggestions. In fact, 10 years simply elapsed before a firm decision was taken and a beginning was recently made falteringly. Expansion occurred at the same old speed. Obviously we are not yet anywhere near the targets although 1985 is not far off.

Problems about the mode and extent of implementation of the recommendations let loose a round of controversies. The Commission had unequivocally recommended *12 year School Education*. But the failure of the extended 11 year school education encouraged a school of thought to question the propriety of extending it by still one more year. U. P. had never introduced the 11 year system. She, therefore, has been sticking to the old scheme. Behar decided to revert to the 10 year school system. Assam introduced 2 year Pre-University education. There are, thus, variations in the implementation of the scheme itself.

The basic question was whether the 11 class schools should be further upgraded to 12 year schools, or whether they would again become 10 year schools. In case of the latter decision, the further question was the location of 11th & 12th educational years, i. e. whether they would constitute 2 year Per-University course in college, or constitute a separate entity like the old Intermediate College or the Junior College in the U. S. A.

Arguments for and against both these views were not lacking. The failure of the multipurpose 11 year education, the impropriety of early specialisation, shortage of proper library, equipment, laboratory, efficient teachers, difficulty to adjust with college courses etc. strengthened the opinion against giving any additional responsibility to schools. The *Principle of selection* of schools for further upgrading was also not accepted without doubts. It was argued that most of the parents might not have the capacity to provide for 2 more years of school education of their children. .

As against these arguments it was said that the 11 year scheme had not been given a fair trial for a considerable period and its failure was not unquestionably proved. Change for the sake of change was not fair for a poor country. The 12 year scheme might also fail! Given time and money, and a fair provision of aid, equipment and teaching personnel, the 11 year scheme might not only succeed, but also might justify the addition of one more class to school education.

The supporters of 10 year school education proposed a 10+2+2 scheme i.e. 10 years of General education followed by examination and certification. The next two years might be devoted to superior general education in preparation for effective college education. The

two-year education might be terminated with examination and certification. There were 3 distinctive opinions about the location of these two years (i.e. 11th & 12th educational years) viz (a) a separate course in secondary schools, (b) separate provision in Degree college, and (c) independent 2 year colleges. If the last proposal were accepted, the 2 year colleges should have been established also in the rural areas to ensure equality of opportunity and should have been treated as community colleges identified with rural life and productive system. The curricula should be accordingly drafted.

CHAPTER III

Development of University Education Since 1947

In comparison with Primary or even Secondary education, Higher education made rapid progress, particularly in regard to quantitative expansion in course of the last 100 years. F. J. Mowat, secretary of the Council of Education in Bengal Presidency had proposed the establishment of a university. The same demand was repeated in 1862 by Mr. C. H. Cameron, President of the Council. By that time, however, the objective situation had prepared the ground and the Despatch of 1864 proposed the establishment of Universities at Presidency Head Quarters. Calcutta, Madras and Bombay Universities were born, and 1864 became a year of importance also in educational chronology.

The functions of the university were kept very limited and its administration was loose. Some academic directions that had been incorporated in the Despatch of 1864 (viz creation of professorial chairs etc) were not actually implemented. The *University's functions were practically limited* to affiliation, construction of syllabuses, examination and certification. Yet, there was considerable growth of higher education in the next three decades. Between 1867 and 1871, the number of colleges rose to 12 in Madras, 4 in Bombay 17 in Bengal, 9 in U.P. and 4 in the Panjab. Calcutta and Madras Presidency Colleges, Tinnevely College in Madras, Canning College at Lucknow were products of this spurt. More colleges grew up in the next decade, viz-Aligarh and Allahabad colleges, Vidyasagar and City colleges in Calcutta. Native Princes also established their own colleges. It is to be noted, however, that *Indian languages were neglected* in these institutions of higher learning. The Bombay University had made room for Indian languages on the curriculum. But, it was abandoned in 1862 under directions from the D. P. I. This also should be noted that all the colleges of those days were 'Arts' colleges. It was natural in the then conditions.

The Indian Education Commission (Hunter Commission) recommended a premium on Indian private enterprise. This caused a further expansion of higher education (consequent upon the expansion of secondary education). While in 1831-82, there had been 68 colleges, in 1911-02 there were 179. One of the reasons of this advance was the

entry of nationally inspired leaders like Tilak, Agarkar, Surendranath etc. into the field of education. Expansion of higher education increased the number of Universities. Lahore and Allahabad Universities were established in 1882 and 1887 respectively. Hunter Commission had recommended alternative courses in higher studies. But, the above-noted growth was a single-track expansion. Rapid expansion undoubtedly caused a fall in standards. Rapid production of graduates began to create a fear of unemployment even in those days. One positive feature was that under the impact of national consciousness, the demand for proper status of Indian languages made a headway. Bombay University again included the Indian languages in the curriculum. *Teaching began to be a direct undertaking of the University.*

Curzon Period

The next phase in the development of University education coincided with the Governor-Generalship of Lord Curzon. On the basis of recommendations of the Universities Commission of 1902, he had the Universities Act passed in 1904. Although from the administrative point of view, this Act introduced stricter State control, the Curzon period was also identified with some positive developments. (a) Teaching became a function of the university, particularly the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. (b) There was sufficient expansion of studies in law. (c) The system of extension lectures was introduced. (d) The curriculum was enriched by the inclusion of Economics, Indology and Sciences. (e) Research became a part of University activity, and (f) Scholarships were granted for studies in foreign countries.

The *National Education Movement gave a fresh spurt to university education*. Between 1913 and 1919 Mysore, Benares, S. N. D. T., Osmania, Aligarh Universities were established. These were institutions of a new character. In spite of these developments, the growth occurred particularly in the study of "arts" subjects only. Expansion gave rise to administrative problems. The Calcutta University Commission recommended reforms and establishment of new-type Universities.

Sadler Commission and After

The recommendations of the Sadler Commission were but partially implemented. *Our attitude, however, changed considerably.* The second

phase of the national education movement (1920-22), the beginning of technical education and post war economic crisis also caused some effect upon the quantitative and qualitative aspects of higher education. In respect of qualitative progress the most noteworthy feature was the acceptance of 'Advancement of Learning' as a practical proposition and also the acquisition of teaching responsibilities. Courses of study in technology, agriculture, sciences and professions were introduced. In respect of quantity, this much may be noted that the number of colleges increased from 231 in 1921-22 to 933 in 1946-47. Thus progressed higher education till 1947.

Higher Education after Independence

After independence, assessment was first made in the field of higher education. The Universities Commission (Radhakrishnan Commission) formed in 1948 redefined the triple aims of higher education—(a) General education (b) education for liberal idealism and (c) education for professional skill. The aims redefined University would produce leaders for political, industrial, commercial fields. The University would fulfil the growing demand for skill in literary, scientific technological and professional callings. *It would provide education for manhood.* Emphasis should, therefore, be placed upon technological and agricultural studies equally with 'general' studies. Minimum admission requirements should be a solid base of general education, improved academic preparation in at least 4 subjects, proper chronological age and mental maturity. In the Western Countries the minimum age for admission is generally 18+. Improved collegiate education is possible only on the basis of a good education from 14+ to 18+. Secondary Schools should produce the human material of a high calibre for the University or for the employment market. For a higher standard of college education, the Commission proposed a 3 year Degree Course. In short, the Commission recommended *simultaneous attention to quantitative expansion and qualitative improvement.*

The Commission admitted the need for more Universities. But it opposed the establishment of affiliating or Affiliating & Teaching Universities only. Federal, Unitary and Residential types were suggested. Recommendations were made for improvement of internal administration of Universities. It recommended formation of a University Grants Commission with the responsibility to determine principles

of higher education, improvement of standards, foundation of new Universities, relation between Govt and University etc. Suggestions were also made for qualitative improvement through tutorials, students' welfare, cocurricular cultural activities, solution of the problem of student unrest with a sympathetic attitude towards the youth.

Rural Higher Education : A particular recommendation of the Commission deserves special mention. The Commission proposed a new attitude, a total outlook and an integrated plan of rural education. Analysing rural society and traditions and the importance of rural economy in the history and current life of India, the Commission opined that the modern system of education in India was never integrated with rural life. Such education caused desertion of the village by the educated rural youth. *Town-centric industrialisation caused urbanised education.* The Commission proposed equalisation of educational opportunities by removing the differences between education in urban and rural areas. It offered a plan for rural higher education totally integrated with rural life.

The Commission was guided by examples of practices in other Countries, specially the Danish Peoples College and above all by Gandhiji's scheme of Basic education. The Wardha Plan had proposed Junior Basic, Senior Basic and Post Basic stages. Radhakrishnan Commission extended the concept upto the University level and offered a total scheme. It proposed the acceptance of the post basic school as the rural high school to cater life-centric, work-centric and environment-centric education. A few such schools would be centred round a Rural college which would offer general higher education together with specialised courses bearing upon rural life. A few such colleges would centre round a Rural University. *Rural Life and Rural University would be Complementary to each other.* Total rural education would be structured as— Junior and Senior Basic education for 7/8 years, 3/4 years of Post Basic education followed by 3 year college courses and capped by 2 year Post Graduate education. At every stage, education would be village-centric, integrating general education with specialised training for work.

Expansion

After the Commission's work, considerable number of Universities came into being (including residential and unitary types). Many of

the higher institutions that had been established during the national education movement were statutorily recognised as Universities. Institutions like the Gurukul at Hardwar, Kashi Vidyapeeth, Gujrat Vidyapeeth and 9 educational organisations like Tata Institute of Social Science, Indian Institute of International Studies etc. were granted University status. A University Grants Committee had been formed in 1945 to control the then three central Universities. In 1953 it was transformed into the University Grants Commission. In 1956 it became an autonomous statutory body with the responsibility of improving and coordinating higher education throughout India, determination of standards of teaching and examination, expansion of researches, drawing up plans and distribution of Central Grants for higher education.

But the *Commission's plan for rural higher education was implemented in a char ed and truncated fashion*, thereby defeating the very purpose.

The Rural Higher Education Committee formed to study the specific question of rural higher education suggested a Standing Committee. The National Council of Higher Education was thus formed in 1956. The Council suggested the establishment of Rural Institutes at selected localities. Accordingl 14 Institutes were started. These Institutes were to offer post graduate courses and award degrees in Rural Economics, Co-operative, Rural Sociology, Community Development etc. In reality, however, 3 year Diploma courses in rural science, 3 year diploma courses in rural engineering, 2 year agricultural course, 1 year sanitary inspection course etc, have been introduced. Evidently these Institutes were not University level institutions and their diplomas were not considered equivalent to University degrees. The situation was partially retrieved when some State Govts and the Council of Technical Education as well as a few Universities admitted equivalence of some of the diplomas. The Institutes could neither implement the recommendations of Radhakrishnan Commission, nor offer modern agricultural education based upon agricultural technology.

Quantitative expansion of higher education has been undoubtedly achieved In 1948 India had 600 colleges and 18 universities. Following are the figures for the period thereafter :—

	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61	1966-67
University	27	32	45	64
Colleges for Special Courses	92	112	204	257
Arts, Science, Commerce colleges	542	772	1122	1400
Professional + Vocational Colleges.	208	346	852	1077
Research Institutes	18	34	41	44
The number of Universities at present exceeds 100.				

Failure in Attaining Objectives

Our failure in attaining the objective of higher education is very prominent. *Expansion of knowledge* by research and experimentation has always been an aim of higher education. This objective is current in most other countries. We have accepted the concept of Advancement of Learning. But mere opening of new windows to knowledge would not be productive. *Knowledge must be disseminated.* Hence the second objective of the university is teaching at the highest level. Cultivation of abstract knowledge had, in the past, led to pedantry and isolation from the life of the people. But, universities of the modern era came closer to the life of the people. Cultivation of the sciences and production of high-grade specialists became duties of the University. Thus, *production of know-how* became a function of the university. And lastly *social service* has been accepted as one of the objectives of the university. Extension work, and solution of the problems placed before the university by industry agriculture and commerce became a function.

Thus creation of new knowledge, dissemination of highest knowledge, in improvement of the cultural heritage of the nation, production of know-how and solution of socio-economic problems constitute the basic aims of higher education.

But, these objectives had been absent when our modern Universities were founded. Production of clerical and administrative personnel through western education and English language had been accepted as aim. No teaching duty had vested in the University. Preparation of curricula and syllabuses, granting affiliation to

colleges, conducting examinations and certifying the successful candidates had constituted the functions of higher education.

Change in attitude became evident since the early years of the current century. Cultivation of the mother tongue, acceptance of teaching responsibility and initiative in researches inaugurated a new era in higher education. The movement was given an impetus by the Sadler Commission.

After independence, the aims of higher education required to be redrafted. *Radhakrishnan Commission proposed the Triple Objective* of (1) good general education (2) Scientific and liberal ideological preparation, (3) Preparation of professional know how. The Commission expected the University to lead the nation in all fields of life. Thenceforth our political and academic leaders explained the role of the University in various terms. *But tangible effects were little palpable.*

And lastly, the Indian Education Commission (Kothari Commission) *enunciated a few basic objectives of university education—*

aims defined by Kothari Commission	(i) Acquisition of new knowledge, pursuit of truth, reorientation of old knowledge in the light of the new ; (ii) Preparation of leaders for different fields of national life by searching out the talented youth and helping their mental, physical and moral development and instilling in them the proper attitude and ideals ; (iii) Preparation of skilled and socially conscious youthful leaders for the nation's agriculture, Arts, Sciences and Technology ; (iv) Removal of social and cultural inequality by expanding education ; (v) Creation of socially oriented robust values by the corporate efforts of teachers and students.
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The commission also suggested some immediate objectives viz (i) to ensure unity in the diversities of national life by encouraging tolerance and rousing the conscience of the people ; (ii) to conduct adult education, part time education and correspondence courses ; (iii) to help the secondary school attain a better standard ; (iv) to expand and improve the standard of teaching and research ; and (v) to raise at least a few institutions of higher learning to international standards.

For the attainment of these objectives the commission suggested—

(a) raising the standard of higher education, (b) Expansion of

higher education in keeping with popular urge on the one hand and man power planning on the other; (c) improvement of University organisation and administration. Subsequently Dr. Kothari, while delivering a convocation address at Calcutta said that universities should devote themselves to (i) the production of mentally healthy citizens, (ii) improvement of cultural life of the community (iii) help the cause of national integration and (iv) take a hand in the augmentation of national income by providing effective scientific and technological studies.

Our failure to pursue and attain the real aims of higher education is most glaring. True it is that universities all over the world have always experienced a conflict between conservation and progress. Yet universities reformed themselves in response to popular demands and national needs. New Universities of new types were established to feed ever growing needs. It cannot, however, be vouched that the requirements have fully been met. Moreover, the present world is rapidly changing. It necessitates further changes in the aims, organisation and administration of higher education. Traditional inertia to keep pace with time led to explosions of students' rebelliousness in many countries.

The state of things in our country is worse still. (i) Our higher education is still heavily laden with one way liberal courses, (ii) Pedantic theorisation dominates all fields of higher education, including Sciences and Technology, (iii) Provisions and standards of research still lag behind, (iv) there is an immense time-gap between the advent of new knowledge and our student's acquaintance with it, (v) Our Universities have no direct links with industry and agriculture, (vi) The role of the University in adult education and total national improvement is negligible, (vii) Expansion of higher education is also limited, (viii) There is scanty provision for aesthetic and spiritual education, (ix) Universities are almost silent observers of a battle between national integration and national disintegration, (x) Students' welfare programmes are limited in nature and span, (xi) University administration is often undemocratic and infested with other diseases. In fact, the list of shortcomings may be made longer still. It may be cryptically remarked that we are yet to get ourselves free from traditional back-pull.

Defects in organisation and system are no less glaring. (a) In spite of the explosion of knowledge and the growth of many universities in the recent past, the extent of higher education in proportion to total population is yet negligible. (b) The questions of proper teaching staff, equipment and local needs were not properly evaluated before the establishment of universities. (c) The universities are still dominated by humanistic studies. Moreover the influence of tradition, (and vested interest in some cases) inhibit modernisation of knowledge and acquaintance with the latest thoughts. (d) The University's role in technical and vocational studies falls short of expectations. Very little direct link has been forged between the university and the productive world. There is also very little link between the university and the adult world of illiterates. (e) Defects in examination process have been plaguing our universities. (f) Recently the questions of finance and the poverty of universities have been featuring prominently. Equitability of financing procedure is also doubted. It is not unnatural that the cumulative effect of these inadequacies and incongruities is reflected in students' unrest. A former vice-chancellor of Calcutta University admitted in a convocation address that the root of students' unrest lies in economic crisis and unemployment. In the absence of other avenues before them, the students flock to the colleges and universities. Even while pursuing the higher courses they find no ray of hope. They could not be what they had hoped to be. In fact, the present system of higher education cannot invest the pupils with a purpose and an ideal. Indiscipline is but a method to give vent to their feelings, however undesirable it might be.

Suggestions for Solution of Problems

Our remedial suggestions are implicit in our diagnosis of the problems. (1) We need more universities. But simple multiplication without reference to local needs, incidence of student population for proper feeding of the institutions and without provision of effective teaching & financing mechanism is not worth-while. That will rather increase the problems. (2) Instead of establishing traditional multi-faculty Universities, attention should be paid also to the feasibility of more single faculty Institutes providing technological and professional specialisation. (3) The University courses should also be more

diversified and specialised. The curricula should be so modified as to forge a link with practical life-situation (4) Seminars and tutorials should foster self-activity of students. The necessary teaching staff should be provided. (5) Research provisions need be expanded and improved. (6) The standard of university education should be so raised as to weed out the incompetent and undesirables as well as to establish parity with the universities in advanced countries. Student-counselling is, therefore, an essential need. (7) The mother-tongue should be accepted as the medium of higher education too. (8) Welfare services should be extensively provided so that the immediate and internal causes of student-outheurst may be, at least partially solved. (9) Only academic and teaching qualifications should guide teacher recruitment. (10) University administration should be streamlined and university finances strengthened.

Attempts to Solve Problems

The University Grants Commission has been statutorily formed with the responsibility to (i) Make decisions on the establishment of new university, (ii) Disburse central grants for higher education, (iii) Foster specialisation in different universities, (iv) Improve the general tone of university administration (v) Improve the student-welfare activities, (vi) Improve libraries and research facilities. Some improvements have been made in the field of curricular organisation. The U. G. C. drafted a "model university act". Inter-varsity Board, Conference of Vice Chancellors, Seminars and Teachers' Organisations are devoting themselves to a search for solution of the vital problems. The mother-tongue has been, as a matter of principle, accepted as the medium of instruction and students' representatives have been admitted to the administration of certain universities.

But concrete work and actual achievements lag much behind 'talks and discussions'. A conflict between tradition and progress is clearly evident. But the whole edifice will crumble down if reasonable progress is not made in the immediate future.

Problem of Language in Higher Education

Language problem is not confined to school education only. At the school stage, the problem has two faces—(a) The medium of instruction and (b) The languages that should be learnt. At the

university stage, the problem has to be tackled (i) at the undergraduate level and (ii) at the post graduate level.

The question at the undergraduate stage is—whether any second or third language must be compulsorily learnt if the mother-tongue is accepted as the medium. At the post graduate level, there is no question of learning a second language compulsorily, because a student has to pursue only one discipline. The question then boils down to a problem of medium in non-language subjects viz History, Philosophy etc, or the Sciences.

In some of the other States an experiment had been conducted by abandoning English altogether. But students from such States had to face problems of language adjustment when they went abroad. Hence there has been a reversion to the old practice of attaching weightage to English.

In west Bengal, the regional language has been accorded equal status with English as the medium of instruction in colleges and also medium of University examinations. Non Bengalee students, however, have to use the alternative medium—English. At the post-graduate level also English still remains a medium of instruction. But here too regional language is due to secure equality of status with English if not a dominant status (Calcutta University introduced Bengali at the P. G. level with effect from 1975.)

The possible modes of solution are—(i) Statutory acceptance of the regional language as the medium for undergraduate studies. (ii) Special provisions must be made for linguistic minorities. (iii) English should be taught at the U. G. stage at two levels—(a) Ordinary level (common for all), (b) advanced level (Elective and therefore of a higher standard) on a voluntary basis.

At the P. G. stage, the regional language should be accepted as medium in a process of graduation without enforcing a sudden change overnight. The argument of the aggressive lovers of English that higher education in Sciences, Technology and Professions is impossible on account of the fact that these are disciplines of international character with terminology uncoined in regional languages, is not acceptable. If the Russians, Japanese, Germans or French may pursue these disciplines in their own languages, there is no reason why the same may not be possible in India. The solution lies in painstaking search for expressive terminology. An earnest endeavour in this respect must bear fruit. Of course when the regional language

is accepted, the libraries should be well stocked with reference books in English, so that students may peruse freely if they so desire.

Kothari Commission's recommendations in regard to language in University are worth mentioning, viz (a) A time bound programme to accept the regional languages as media in a period of ten years, (b) For some years to come, English may continue as medium at P. G. stage, but change-over must not unnecessarily be delayed, (c) Hindi or Urdu should be accepted as medium if there are sufficient numbers of students speaking these languages, (d) Teachers, in the long run, should pick up 2/3 languages, (e) Attempts should be made to improve the regional languages, (f) Optional scope should be made for the study of the Classics, (g) Foreign languages other than English should be made popular.

Subsequent to the publication of these recommendations the Education Ministers' Conference set a 5 year limit for introducing the regional languages. The National Policy on education also accepted the regional language without fixing any time limit for the change over. The process is time consuming and the pace is yet slow.

The Problem of Students' Unrest

Student outbursts in examination halls had been a phenomenon in recent days. This is but a partial and perverted expression of unrest. Explosions occurred in relation to national and international political questions, state policy in education, students' amenities, educational administration etc. Evidently, unrest has its ideological, political, economic, social, and cultural causes.

The basic truth is that war, famine, riots and partition of India destroyed many of our old values while new values were not created. Our present generation of youth was born and brought up in a vacuum in the value-system. Social anarchy could not but make them anarchic. In the days of freedom movement, a common goal had unified the nation. The ideal of service and sacrifice had inspired the youth. But the present social era is characterised by socio-economic corruption and erosion of values. In an environment of lawlessness, predominance of monetary aristocracy and illegally begotten social prestige, the youngman of today cannot be expected to be endowed with heavenly morality.

The young men of to-day are socially conscious. Exploitation, and assassination of humanism and repression must stir up their plastic mind. They react immediately and violently.

Unrest has its material base also. We cannot expect blissful submission of the young man who suffers from mal-nutrition and consumptive diseases. We cannot expect young men to be contented when they suffer from lack of living space in the family, lack of counselling and advice, lack of scope for joyful cocurricular pursuits. One whose future is bleak cannot but be restless.

Educational administration is no less responsible for the sad state of affairs. Group interests play havoc and students are brought into power politics. And agencies with vested interest are consciously trying every means and method for degenerating students' morals.

Pedagogic reasons are similarly responsible. Provisions in Colleges and Universities cannot keep pace with the urge for higher education. Other avenues being closed, youngmen crowd at the Universities. Those who are refused admission are actually left in the wilderness. And those who are fortunate to be admitted, find the courses uninteresting and ill suited to their taste or calibre. Teacher pupil relation is seldom healthy these days. The teacher whom the society does not accord the due prestige, cannot claim the same from his pupil either. Even those students who are serious with their studies find the future dark. Unemployment reigns supreme. The purposiveness in education becomes the first victim in such a situation. The complete loss of purpose, and a philosophy of self-immolation had combined to degrade examination to a farce. The situation is aggravated by open or clandestine instigation of vested interest.

The following may be suggested as measures of remedy. (1) More expansion of higher education, its diversification and capacity-oriented pursuit of studies. (2) Reform of curricula. (3) Provision of hostel or other types of accomodation. (4) Modernisation of higher education as well as improvement of library, laboratory and research facilities. (5) Counselling, (6) Health service, (7) More stipends and provisions for part time employment to make the needy students self-going, (8) Students' self Govt. and students' participation in university administration, (9) Wide scope of cultural activities, (10) Generation of confidence in future.

Achievement in these fields in comparison with the achievements in the advanced countries are not worth mentioning. Statistical survey of the health, living and economic conditions of university students conducted by the university itself gives a picture of darkness. Institutions like Youth Employment Bureau, Youth Hostels Association, Leadership training camp have been unproductive and practically still born. Some essay or debating competitions, publication of some magazines, annual recreation or social functions organised by students' unions constitute the student's leisure time pursuit. Day Home system and most of other devices and programmes suffer from endemic crisis.

It is obvious that students' unrest cannot be tackled by bureaucratic or repressive measures. Something constructive is an absolute need. The Kothari Commission recommended compulsory social service work in development projects and labour camps. It also suggested the institution of an office of whole time Dean of student-welfare in every university. It furthermore suggested university autonomy to safeguard students' self Govt.

The younger generation is mooringless. A conflict between the old and the new is obvious. This is perhaps natural for a society suffering from inner contradictions, and contradictions between professions and practices, between aspirations and realities, between high sounding lectures on morality and actual prevalence of immorality and corruption. The younger generation desperately needs help and sympathy in a phase of social transition. Withholding such help will mean leading them down the precipice of anti-social delinquency. Such help must primarily come from the system of education itself, which, therefore, calls for a revolutionary change.

Kothari Commission on Higher Education

In the context of such a deep crisis came the recommendations of Kothari Commission. The aim of higher education would be search for knowledge and truth, as well as dissemination of that knowledge. The University must supply the necessary leadership and help equitability in social life, reduce gaps in culture by producing a well organised generation of young talent. The University has responsibility to improve the entire pattern of education, even by devising scientific

methods of instruction. Education of the adult population must be one of its charges.

Higher education requires quantitative expansion and qualitative improvement simultaneously. Hence the commission placed special emphasis upon equipment, management, teachers' qualifications, reform of examinations at the undergraduate stage. At the same time it recommended reform of university administration and improvement of teaching and research at the post graduate stage. New Universities may be founded only in the interest of qualitative improvement, specialisation of studies and to help the productive possibilities of specific regions. In any case, new universities should be established with previous consent of the U G. C.

In regard to qualitative improvement, the Commission suggested the establishment of some "advanced centres of study" and the upgrading of 4 Universities to the status of Major Universities to provide for education at international standards. The commission's recommendations in respect of language formula, students' welfare etc have already been discussed. In regard to the tricky question of admission to higher studies, the commission recommended a principle of admission determined by financial provisions, man power needs, intake capacity of institutions and standards of higher education. On the whole the commission proposed a Selective Approach. Many of the recommendations, however, still remain paper documents.

CHAPTER IV

Development of Technical and Vocational Education

We are accustomed to hearing of technical education, vocational education, engineering and technological education, professional education and the like. These different types have aspects of similarity just as they have dissimilarities. They have differences in respect of curricula, length of the period of study, institutional organisation etc.

Meaning of Technical & Vocational Education

Trade training means the acquisition of practical skill in some mechanical work, as is evident from the word "trade" which implies mechanical employment. Carpentry, Smithy etc are such trades. The word 'vocational education' has a wider connotation implying activities in connection with commerce and industry in the modern society. Similarly "technical" skill means "skill in the method of executing any artistic work." In the modern system of production, 'technical skill' implies a wide field connected with the productive process. Engineering education means theoretical and practical knowledge in relation to "machines." Technology implies science of Industrial Arts. Knowledge of the applied sciences is more involved in it.

In general terms, however, *we may use the expression 'vocational education' to cover the whole field of trades and vocations. The expression 'technological education' may cover the whole field of technical, technological and engineering education. Similarly, the expression "professional education" encompasses the entire field of legal, medical, teaching professions.*

Although all types of education are connected with avocations, technical and vocational education is more directly related with occupations, because *specialised efficiency for specialised types of jobs is the essence of vocational education.* The type of education is determined by the type of economic productivity. A country without an industrial economy cannot have a modern vocational type

of education. Similarly, professional education is vitally dependent upon the development of different professions. In our country, the modern legal profession which replaced the mediaeval practices, prepared the field for modern education in Law. Replacement of mediæval medical knowledge by the modern sciences led to the development of professional education in Medicine,

Technical and vocational education *depends also upon the social system and social valuation*. 'A' and 'B' courses in secondary education had been introduced in India after the Hunter Commission's work. But the ideal of "respectable professions" had captured the social mind and no premium was placed upon vocational education. The 'B' course was allowed to wither away. It was only in the early years of the current century that our attitude began to change, and a

The influence of social valuation concomitant concept became apparent in the field of vocational education. *Vocational education advances in accordance with the advancement of technological and applied sciences.* More there is division of labour, more is the need for specialisation, and more the need for specialisation, more is the value of vocational and technical education. Even the employers may patronise such education, because more skilled is the worker, more is the production and therefore more is the profit. *The political factor is no less responsible.* Modern technical education cannot develop in a colonial country with a feudal economy. In the absence of vocational education, a nation's valuable resources may be wasted. On the other hand, vocational education gets due weightage in a socialist country. *Planned economy* would require technical and vocational education in conformity with production-planning. And lastly vocational education *depends upon pedagogical considerations*. In accordance with the theory of individual differences, education should be guided by individual potentialities and aptitudes. Development of individual capacities contributes to the development of the society.

Nature and Role of Technical Education

Education is a socially directed process. The society desires its citizens to develop in a particular fashion determined by social values and needs. The fashion of individual development is again largely determined by knowledge and skill acquired. Hence, vocational education helps individual development and adjustment between man

and his environment. Through vocational education, the individual's physical and mental capacities as well as dexterity and innate powers achieve fulfilment. *Technical Education does a socio-economic service by producing the man-power necessary for the different fields of specialisation.*

Success of vocational education however, has a few preconditions. The first necessity is a favourable socio-political environment. The second requirement is urge and innate tendencies of the educand. The third precondition is sufficient scope of practice, intensive training and close acquaintance with the latest fields of technological knowledge. The fourth need is social recognition and value attached to technical education. And lastly it must be said that scope of productive employment guarantees the success of technical education.

Technical and vocational education is education for specialisation. The special skill thus acquired is applicable in its particular field. In this sense it is unlike general liberal education. General education is not education for a special type of job. A particular calling is selected after completion of general education. But technical education aims at concrete and particular skills. *A disbalance between the needs of man-power in that particular field and production of man-power for that field creates a crisis.* Surplus man-power remains unemployed. In our country such disbalance is a widely known phenomenon. We import superior technical know-how from abroad, but do not provide for the preparation of such man-power in our own country. The C. S. I.R. pool showed that there were signs of over production in some branches of technical studies while other fields were not equally packed with specialists. *Internal balance is also of vital consideration.* If a country produces more graduate engineers than diploma and certificate holders, it must soon experience the effects of such imbalance. Hence two types of balance is necessary (i) External balance, i.e. balance between needs and supplies, and (ii) Internal balance between different types and standards of technical education. The most effective remedial measure is sufficient flexibility in the system of technical education.

Technical Education and Employment

Assured employment is complementary to need based technical-vocational education. A trained personnel can seldom cross his own

bounds. Hence, employment prospect remains limited unless the economic base is expanded. In a competitive economy the situation gives rise to educational crisis. The field of enterprise is, in such an economy, owned by private and profit-making investors. Rapid industrialisation rapidly expands the scope of technical education. A static economy or recession leads not only to a freeze of new recruitment, but also to retrenchment. The impact is directly felt by technical education.

A *planned economy* (of course if it is properly planned) leads to a different sets of affairs. The essential elements of planning are (a) total survey of current economy, (b) total survey of natural and human resources, (c) setting up a practically attainable and time bound target, (d) phasing the advance towards the target, (e) marshalling financial resources, (f) deployment of resources in the various fields and (g) employment of man-power necessary for attainment of targets in the different spheres. *Any lag or gap in this total chain creates a crisis.* To ensure supply of skilled man-power necessary for the different branches of planned economic activity is the task of education. Obviously, educational planning and socio-economic planning are closely inter related, the former being a part of the latter. The duty of planners is to forecast the need for specialised personnel for different fields in a particular time, the task of education is to prepare the personnel. Failure in either of the duties is sure to produce man-power shortage or under-employment.

General Education vs Technical Education

To the end of the last century, there had been a wide-spread illusion that education meant only general and liberal academic education preparing for liberal and intellectual callings. This was education of the "gentry", and preparation for productive efficiency was "working man's education." Such education was kept out of the recognised system. It took a long time and continuous struggle to get vocational education recognised as an integral part of the general educational pattern, on terms of parity. Recognition came early in the U. S. A Germany accorded recognition in the last part of the 19th century and Britain followed suit in the early years of the current century. France had to suffer the shock of two great wars to realise the need for according equal status. A clandestine opposition still persisted in some countries for many years.

Industrialisation, however, was not the only cause of recognition. The other causes were—the advance of democracy, the concept of universal education and equality of opportunities and the development of modern educational ideas to recognise parity between different types of education. Duality has now been replaced by a unitary concept that, (1) In a fast changing world the old time "liberal education" cannot hold good any longer. Liberal education should acquire a new meaning and content under the impact of Sciences and Applied Sciences. (2) Even education of a "general nature" must have an element of scientific and mathematical knowledge. (3) Education must be work-oriented and production oriented in order that it may contribute to the growth of national income to foster national development and a better standard of living. (4) Obviously education needs diversification. (5) From secondary stage onwards, there should be provisions for technical and vocational education parallel and inter-related with general education. (6) Even secondary education should be vocationalised. (7) The scheme of general education should provide for work-experience and social motivation through social service. Indeed the Kothari Commission's proposals for 'Work Experience' were greatly influenced by the Russian concept and practice of Polytechnisation.

The field of conflict between General Education and Technical Education has been gradually narrowed down. The protagonists of general education admit of a vocational slant, while the protagonists of technical education recognise the need for a strong foundation of general education upon which the edifice of technical education may be built. (1) The conclusions of theoretical sciences and Mathematics must have to be applied in the theory and practice of the applied sciences and technology. (2) The system of production to which the technical know-how must belong has a direct link with socio-economic life of the community. Hence the technical personnel cannot but acquire an intimate knowledge of the society. (3) Education as a whole has its roots in the soil of national culture and traditions. Man is not simply an economic machine. His leisure time cultural pursuits must be sustained by his intimacy with social heritage. (4) Apart from productive efficiency, man must acquire social efficiency too. Hence the need is integration between general education and technical education.

We may, therefore, conclude that *the two are not inimical*. The higher the desired standard of technical education, the stronger should be the base of general education. This explains why the minimum admission requirement for trade school courses is complete primary education. For junior technical or vocational schools, the minimum is complete lower secondary education. For polytechniques it is S.F/H.S. ; and the minimum requirement for admission to Medical or Engineering Courses is complete H. S. education.

General Education Movement

Over emphasis upon General Academic Education and Over Specialisation are equally unwonted. *Emphasis upon either leads to a lopsided growth*. This tendency had been exhibited in the U-S A. Since the acquisition of independence, America's industrial development had advanced apace. Possession of natural resources enhanced the growth which was furthered by the political principle enunciated in Monroe Doctrine of 1823. Technological developments created minutest fields of specialisation. American thinkers sensed danger in over specialisation. They realised that (i) specialists are concerned mainly with their own fields of specialisation oblivious of things beyond. (ii) Such specialisation leads to the formation of group interests contrary to the interest of national and social integration. (iii) A specific standard of general and cultural education for all is necessary for the production of democratic citizens with a cultural possession. (iv) Technology has already advanced so far that a sound basis of general education is a pre requisite for effective technical education. Only a good general education may guarantee a good technical education. (v) Hence, a minimum standard of general education should be prefixed for technical education. (vi) A stronger general education requires a longer period of schooling. (vii) Of course, general education or technical education should not succeed at the cost of each other. They should rather be supplementary to each other.

These concepts led to a full fledged General Education Movement leading to (a) integration between curricular, cocurricular and leisure time education, (b) Division of school curriculum into (i) Solids, (compulsory for all children) and (ii) Electives (fostering special

studies). (c) Prolongation of School type education upto the 14th educational year, (d) Establishment of Junior and Community Colleges, (e) Encouragement to leisure time cultural activities, (f) Acceptance of the "humanities" in the curricula for technical courses, (g) Emphasis upon education for leisure.

This General Education Movement acquired momentum in the post war days and affected almost all the industrially advanced countries in differential degrees. The idea invaded India too, although specialisation had little advanced in India, and her weakness had been over generalisation. Yet, the Mu'aliar Commission divided the H. S. Curriculum into Core and Periphery, the former representing General Education for all in common, and the latter representing individuation. The Kothari Commission further amended the concept that specialisation must await the completion of lower secondary education. In fact, specialisation requires not only intellectual maturity, but also chronological maturity.

Differences in Objectives

Admitting the need for integration between general and special education, admitting that effective general education is necessary for effective specialisation, and further admitting that there is no vital difference between the two in respect of ultimate aims, *differences in immediate objectives should also be admitted*. The basic aim of general education is to help the educand inherit the cultural heritage built up by humanity. Scientific and mathematical achievements of man are constituents of that heritage. Evidently, one of the aims of general education is to produce men of culture. It does not mean that such education should be "backward looking". Understanding of present life and a forward looking motivation are parts of such cultural education. Education must produce creative men through fulfilment of individual and social selves. Such education will produce socially conscious personality, individual morality and citizenship. Obviously *General Education is influenced by Idealism in education*.

Technical and vocational education bears an influence of materialism. The concepts of individual and social fulfilment are not lacking, but they have acquired a different connotation from a different angle of vision. Cultural efficiency must be supplemented by Social Efficiency and Productive Efficiency. Self fulfilment is possible by application

of innate potentialities so that the individual may find his proper place in the social set up. The objective here is more concrete and specific with a distinctive view of the productive role of the individual.

Position in India

An analysis of the present state of technical education in India in the light of these objectives will expose our weakness. (a) Even technical and vocational education is theoretically biased. (b) The principle of "need-based education" has been more violated than pursued. (c) The system of technical education is neither vertically well-integrated, nor provided with an easy ladder to facilitate ascent from lower to higher rungs. (d) Job-analysis and job-announcements are not properly organised. The principle of "the fit man for the fit place" has been violated. (e) Integration of technical education with other branches of study has not been achieved. (f) Man-power planning has failed. The institutions have been discharging their duties simply by turning out skilled personnel year after year (g) Our curricular contents lag far behind the latest extent of knowledge, and creative researches are lagging behind. We import the superior know-how, and produce mainly the maintenance staff. (h) Class distinction even in technical education is apparent. (i) We have failed to integrate technical education with cocurricular cultural activities and education for leisure.

Inter-relation between Types of Education

Technical education is not independent or self-sufficient in itself. Life is an indivisible whole, and education is indivisible whole, although it has its inter-related varieties. Obviously technical education has direct and indirect links with other forms of education. Modern medical science is intimately related with applied physical and chemical sciences. The legal profession has to keep pace with industrial development and concomitant industrial and labour legislation. Specialisation in administrative service has close links with knowledge of economics and finances. Knowledge of physiology, anatomy and biology guides the principles of manual labour. Relation between natural sciences and mathematics is direct. Industrial Psychology has to adopt the findings of other branches of applied psychology. And lastly we must say that technical education being

a socially needed and socially motivated type of education, it is vitally linked with Social Sciences. These relationships led to the growth of *vocational education within general school* and also more *specialised education in specialised school*.

The nature and extent of specialisation determines the nature of institution. (1) There is provision for vocational education within general schools in many countries. This practice prevails in India too (ref. H.S. Course). (2) There are parallel Trade or Junior technical schools equivalent to secondary schools. (We possess such types). (3) Full-fledged technical and vocational institutions of high school status offering courses in commerce, agriculture, domestic sciences industrial vocation etc (We have such provisions). (4)

Types of institutions Part time or full time continuation education of a vocational and practical nature after the period of compulsory education (in advanced countries upto 18+). (5) Apprenticeship programmes conducted by industrial establishment. (In our country also the major steel industries and engineering industries pursue such a practice). (6) Various courses offered in Polytechniques, with emphasis upon practical application, after complete secondary education. (7) University level colleges or autonomous Institutes. (8) Research Institutes.

These institutions have their different roles, characteristics and obviously different curricula. (a) Vocational education *within* secondary schools does not aim at producing completely skilled personnel. Their objective mainly is to impart a vocational orientation, preparing the base for subsequent specialisation. (b) *Separate vocational schools* of lower secondary status aim at preparing skilled labour. Obviously, more emphasis need be placed upon practical training rather than imposition of theoretical knowledge. The age group falls within the period of compulsion. Hence a considerable importance of general education and citizenship training need be recognised. The curriculum should, therefore, consist of (i) Theory bearing upon the particular trade, (ii) practical training pertaining to that trade, (iii) language, general science, mathematics and social sciences in simplified forms and quantities to foster general education.

(b) In Continuation-Education, equal emphasis should be placed upon theory and practice. The apprenticeship system provides for

intensive practice. Class-lectures should be devoted mainly to theories related with practice.

(c) In the secondary level institutions, major emphasis should be placed upon theories with proper practical orientation. Applied Mathematics, Applied Chemistry, Applied Physics should feature prominently, together with workshop practice. Of course Language and Social Science should not be at a discount. These institutions being preparatory for higher studies, integration with higher courses should be aimed at.

(d) Post-Secondary institutions are mainly of two types—the Polytechnique and the Technological college. The objective of the Polytechnique is to produce technicians with mastery of practice. Draftsmen Foremen, Chargemen and such other skilled personnel come normally from Polytechniques. Successful students enter life directly. Hence the curriculum should include mathematics, physics, (chemistry where necessary), metallurgy, engineering drawing & designing, survey etc. on the one hand, and intensive workshop practice on the other. Language should better be included, because language deficiency of successful polytech students is often painful. Emphasis in the Degree Courses should equally be placed upon theory and practice. On the basis of a common course for the first year or two, diversified courses in Mechanical, Electrical, Civil, Marine, Metallurgy, Chemical, Aeronautics, Architectural engineering is the normal practice. At every stage, practice should mingle with theory, and a year or two more of in-service training should be insisted upon.

Precondition to the success of technical and vocational education is the existence of well equipped laboratories, libraries and workshops. Many of the manual types of work which are considered co-curricular in relation to general education are intimately and directly curricular in relation to technical education. Hence cocurricular work in this case should be (a) physical exercises, games, literary and cultural activities, (b) visits to construction projects including participation during vacations, (c) visit to factories, (d) organisation of exhibitions with models, diagrams, and demonstrations.

In as much as methods of teaching are concerned, it needs be said that explanations and expositions of fundamentals must be made effective. But each exposition should be accompanied by diagrams and models, because technical education without proper aids can be

no education. The students must handle the materials and models and supplement their knowledge by practical workshop programmes.

The general duties and functions of the technical teacher do not differ basically from the functions of a teacher in general school and college. But something more is expected of the technical teacher. He must keep himself abreast of the latest development on the global scale, so that he may instil an inspiration and aspiration into the student body. Sufficient efficiency in practical work together with theoretical knowledge should be the basic minimum of his qualifications. Obviously, teacher-training is a 'must' in this case too.

Technical examination is divided into (a) written theoretical and (b) practical workshop demonstration. It is sometimes supplemented by oral testing. In some of the higher institutes of technology, the proficiency is judged on the basis of cumulative records. This practice should be generally followed.

Development of Technical Education Before 1947

Vocational education in ancient India had been conducted basically in the family unit. This tradition continued throughout the middle ages. Some of the Sultans and Badshahs, however, provided workshops, specially for the training of their slaves. Some remnants of ancient and mediaeval excellence in craftsmanship survived against odds of modern economy. Weaving and spinning, wood work, metal work etc. are a few of these crafts.

The British rulers could not naturally have any genuine interest in India's industrial development. Yet they had to introduce into India some elements of modern life that might help the British machine of exploitation. Some skilled personnel had to be prepared for the railways, roads and other departments. An engineering class was started at Bombay in 1824 and a mechanical school was established for the P. W. D. at Poona. This scanty beginning led, in a few years, to the establishment of the Roorkie Engineering College in 1847. Other colleges were founded in quick succession viz-Calcutta Engineering college (1853), Agra, Meerut, and Benares Colleges in 1852, 1853 and 1857 respectively. From 1860 onwards mechanical, civil and electrical courses were started in Sibpore and other colleges.

The growth of national consciousness in the last part of the 19th Century also added a fresh impetus to the cause of technical education.

The National Congress in its 1888 and 1889 sessions demanded commercial and technical education of a complete nature (not the 'B' course type).

The *National Education Movement* brought the question of technical education into prominence. Already in 1904, the 'Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of India' had been formed. These developments influenced the Govt policy also. The Indian Institute of Science was established in 1911 and the Dhanbad School of Mining in 1926. The Lytton Committee censured the apathy of European employers to employ Indian Technicians.

The first world war, however, brought about a revolutionary change in our concept. The economic crisis of 1929 furthered our urge for vocational education. The Hartog Committee recommended diversified studies at the lower secondary stage and the drafting of a part of the student population for vocational education at the end of that stage. The Abbot-Wood Committee (1937) also submitted an illuminating report incorporating important suggestions. And lastly the Sargent Committee (1944) recommended a complete system of technical and vocational education integrated with the general system of education. Apart from these commission and committee reports, technical education acquired a momentum during the second world war as demanded by the pressure of circumstances. *A well thought out plan and a dynamic direction was, however, absent during the entire process of development so far* The first pre-independence attempt in this direction was the establishment of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research in 1940. This was followed by the Sarkar Committee (1945) and the Central Board of Technical Education. And lastly came the Scientific Man-power Committee to conduct a study of man-power requirements.

Development After Independence

The first educational commission—The Radhakrishnan Commission attached great importance to engineering and technological studies at the university stage. The Mudaliar Commission recommended technical school, industrial school and apprenticeship system. The Commission also suggested a special levy on Industrial and Commercial firms for the cause of technical education. *In the era of planning*, the programme for technical and vocational education in free India included—(i) improvement of the existing degree colleges,

(ii) establishment of new institutions, (iii) post-graduate study and research.

India, at present, has the following major types of technical institutions—(1) Degree Colleges and Technological Institutes, (2) Institutions for Diploma and Certificate courses, (3) Industrial schools, Junior Technical schools, arts & crafts schools for the production of skilled labour. *The second and third categories may be subdivided into—*(i) *Junior Technical School.* The minimum admission requirement in this case is complete Junior School course. Practical work accounts for 80% and theoretical preparation for 20% of the study time. Practical training is imparted in workshop attached to the school. The successful students after complete 3 year course may get admitted to Diploma courses or may seek employment. (ii) *The Technical Course in the Higher Secondary School* in consequence of the introduction of the new scheme of secondary education. (iii) *The Industrial Training School (I. T. I.)* The admission requirement is complete 6 year school education, and the programme leads to the production of skilled labour for particular trades. The courses vary in length and intensity viz, one year for Refrigeration Mechanics, and 2 years for Electrical engineering. In most of the trades, however, the length of study and training is 2 years. (iv) *The Polytechnique.* The minimum qualification for admission is S. F. or H. S. certificate or Junior Technical Certificate. The courses combine theory and practice and lead to L. C. E., L. E. E., L. M. E., L. Ch. E. Diplomas. The successful students may serve as middle-grade technical cadre in industrial firms. (v) *The Board of Apprenticeship Training (B. O. A. T.)* which admits candidates with S. F. or H. S. certificates subject to success at an admission test. It offers an apprenticeship training course for candidates serving as apprentices and sponsored by the employing firms. (vi) *Degree colleges* which issue Bachelorship Degrees (B.E); Admission after P. U. or H. S. is competitive. A five year course is generally offered in various branches of engineering and technology. (vii) *Part-time B. E or equivalent courses* (viz A. M. I. E). This is generally a 5 year evening course for in-service personnel already possessing B. O. A. T. or equivalent Diplomas. (viii) *Post Graduate courses* (M. E. or M-Tech). The candidates must have completed B. E. or B Sc/B. Tech. (ix) *Vocational Training Centres* for the preparation of specially skilled man power for particular fields of technology

viz Printing Technology, Leather Technology, Jute Technology, Textile Technology, Ceramic Technology etc. The minimum admission requirement in some of these institutions is H. S. certificate while in some others it is B. Sc. (x) *Specialised Research and Teaching Institutes* at the highest level viz-Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, The Bhaba Atomic Research Centre etc.

These different types of institutions are *not, however, well integrated* in a total pattern of technical education providing a ladder from bottom to top as it exists in Russia and other countries where the integrated system provides a second ladder to the University. Our system may be graphically represented as follows.

Classes VI—I. T. I. The door to higher education is practically closed before the student from this type.

Class VIII—Junior Technical (3 year)→Polytech (3 years)→B. E. (5 years)→M. E. (2 years)→Doctoral Course.

Students from Junior tech-college may join the Polytech; Diploma holders from the Polytech may also join the part time course for degree. The link, however, is very indirect and the process very tortuous. Even if a fortunate and meritorious student proceeds from the Junior tech-college towards higher education, he will require at least 11 years to complete his B. E.

Class XII—Directly to B. E. course and completion of B. E. in 5 years. The very faint integration, thus, gives a picture of inequality.

Expansion

In spite of these defects, we recorded some advance in respect of quantitative expansion of technical education.

There are 5 Institutes of Technology in India, and Institutes of Management at Calcutta and Ahmedabad. The Bangalore Institute and the Pili Institute also serve effective purposes. 42 Institutions offer post graduate courses, including Ph. D. courses from 7 Institutes. Out of the total of 1077 Professional and Technical Colleges in India, about 50% are institutions for technical and vocational education. And the 44 National Laboratories also help technological studies directly or indirectly. We must, therefore, admit that some quantitative progress has been made since 1947. But the progress was no unmixed blessing, because technical and vocational education has already been suffering from crisis caused by expansion.

Kothari Commission's Views

Fortunately, the Kothari Commission made extensive recommendations in regard to technical and vocational education which may be summed up as the following—(i) Vocationalisation of secondary education and acceptance of all types of education between primary and university stages as secondary education. (ii) Vocational education should start at the lower secondary level with the object of diverting 50% of children to vocational courses by 1985. This should be education of a terminal nature either in part time or in full time institutions. (iii) Industrial training Institutes should be provided for those who would abandon general education after class VIII. For the rural children a special scheme of *Further Education* should be developed, by combining vocational education with general education. Similarly general education for girls should be combined with Domestic Science. (iv) At the secondary level, full time industrial Polytechniques in urban areas and agricultural and engineering Polytechnics in rural areas or 3 year diploma or certificate courses in Commerce, Public Health, Administration, Cottage Industries will provide extensive facilities. This should be supplemented by Correspondence Courses, Sandwich Courses, Short Intensive Courses etc. (v) At the higher levels, more emphasis should be placed upon practical experience. A selective approach should be adopted in regard to admission of students. (vi) To ensure a centralised and more meaningful direction, a U G. C. type authority should be formed and financial resources augmented.

The Commission had proposed 30 thousand places at Degree level and 61 thousand at Diploma level by 1970-71, and increased per capita, per annum expenditure in the following order (in terms of rupees).

	1965-66	1975-76	1985-86
Voc education at Lower Secondary stage	417	500	600
At the Secondary stage		700	800
At the Degree level	1167	1500	2000
At Post Graduate level		5000	6000

It is needless to say that the targets for expansion have not been reached, nor the targets for per capita expenditure. On the other hand retrenchment and unemployment hit the trained personnel hard. Man-power planning has become a farce. Indian talent is going out, and this "brain drain" has been helping other countries.

The Govt's plan to solve the unemployment crisis is amusing. The plan consists of (i) helping the unemployed engineers to start small scale private business, (ii) factories on co-operative basis, (iii) Unemployment allowance, (iv) stipends for higher studies (to keep them out of the employment market), (v) permission to go abroad. Never is anything heard of the fact that real solution of the problem lies in creating additional job opportunities by expansion of industrial economy. In fact, such expansion in national interest is not possible in a system of economy vitally dependent upon private proprietorship. Increasing public sector expansion may relieve the situation to some extent, although the ultimate solution lies in a genuine socialistic economy.

Teacher Education

Teacher education is one of the most important types of professional education.

India had an ancient system of teacher-preparation in the monitorial practices. With the death of the indigenous system of education, this indigenous type of teacher-training also ended. Early attempts to set up a new system of teacher-education were made by the missionaries. The Serampore Training Institution was established by William Carey. The Bombay Native Education Society had 24 teachers trained in the Lancastrian Method. The Elphinstone Institute, Poona Sanskrit College and the Surat college started Normal Schools. Schools were established by Munro at Madras. And the Calcutta School Society started training courses. The rejection of Adam's Report by the then Govt nullified the possibilities of extensive teacher preparation. The Despatch of 1854 brought a new ray of hope. The number of Normal Schools by 1881-82 became 106, and the Hunter Commission wanted to make professional training a pre-condition to permanent appointment. This emphasis caused further expansion of training. By 1901-02 there were training colleges & training schools for secondary teachers (L. T. course), Certificate courses conducted by the D. P. I and Normal Schools for primary school teachers.

The question of training acquired importance at the Simla Conference of 1901, and the University Commission of 1902 made positive recommendations. The Govt Resolution of 1905 adopted by Lord Curzon's administration proposed the introduction of one year training

for graduates and 2 year course for undergraduates. The course would combine theoretical studies with practical teaching work.

Hence, a close link would be maintained between the training colleges and the secondary schools. On the basis of this policy, the Bombay training college, the David Hare training college and the Dacca college were started in 1906, 1908 and 1909 respectively. The Govt Resolution of 1913 further stated that the policy of the Govt would be "not to maintain untrained persons on the teaching staff".

A fresh impetus to this positive policy came from the Sadler Commission which recommended the establishment of the University Department of Education and acceptance of 'Education' as a subject of study. The Hartog Committee recommended prolongation of the training period, introduction of Refresher courses and initiation of pedagogical research. Since then, all the important committees viz Sargent Committee, Mudaliar and Radhakrishnan Commissions placed particular emphasis upon expansion of training facilities. After independence, an international team of experts assessed the whole thing in 1955. Conference and Seminars were held since then at different levels and some curricular reforms were made from time to time.

India at present has a few types of training institutions viz (1) a few training schools for pre-primary teachers as well as rotatory Montessori classes, (2) Primary teachers' colleges for 1-3 year training, (3) Junior Basic Training Colleges, (4) A few Senior Training Colleges, (5) P. G. B. T., (6) Post Graduate B.T./B. Ed. colleges, (7) Certificate courses in some states. There are also provisions for refresher, short term intensive courses, Seminars, week end symposiums, educational exhibitions, Carrier Master Course, and extension services. The central leadership in teacher preparation comes from the N. O. E. R. T.

The following data would give a *simultaneous picture of success and failure*. The fact that persons with higher academic qualifications join the teaching profession now, may be made evident from the following comparative columns.

<i>Secondary teachers—</i>	1950-51	1965-66
Graduate and Post Graduate	41%	52%
Matric and Undergraduate	40%	93%
Non-Matric	19%	9%

	1950-51	1965-66
<i>Lower Secondary—</i>		
Graduate and Post Graduate	6%	1%
Matric and Undergraduate	10%	50%
Non-Matric	90%	49%
<i>Primary teachers—</i>		
Graduate and Post Graduate	5%	6%
Matric and Under Graduate	41.5%	54%
Non-Matric	53.5%	40%

These are all-India figures. W. & B. Bengal's position is better in as much as there are at present very few undergraduate secondary teachers, more than half are graduate teachers; 20% have Honours Degrees and the rest are Master's Degree holders.

Bu, India's progress in respect of professional training of teachers is not startling, as will be clear from the following figures of trained personnel,

	1950-51,	1960-61,	1965-66
Primary level	58.8%	63%	75%
Lower Secondary	53.3%	64%	75%
Secondary/H. S.	53.8%	68%	75%

These are average figures. There are wide variations between states. The figures for West Bengal may be cited viz—Primary 38.3%, Lower Secondary 23.5% and Secondary level 52.6% only

CHAPTER V

Development of Women's Education

India's rich tradition of women's education was partly lost during the mediaeval era although some attempts still continued. The decay and upheavals of the 13th century caused almost a total collapse of the tradition, with the exception of some remnants.

New efforts in the modern era were started by the missionaries. Rev May's school at Chinsurah (1818) was followed by Carey's school at Serampore. Thereafter the Calcutta Female Jevellie Society, the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education made effective contributions. Indian workers were not late to take the field. With the development of the Brahmo movement, the consciousness in favour of girls' education developed rapidly. The Young Bengal Movement added an impetus. Girls' schools were established even in mofussil centres. The traditionalist leadership also could not sit tight. Bombay and Madras also took rapid strides. Indian donations and endowments came forth for the establishment of girls' schools.

These developments were recognised in the *Despatch of 1854* which declared that the Govt would advance aids to women's education. Indian leaders like Vidyasagar infused a new spirit in non-official efforts and introduced a new character in the movement. The simultaneous growth of national consciousness also fostered the cause of women's education. This was recorded in some expansion as will be evident from the following figures.

	1851-82	1901-02
College	1	12
Secondary School	81	412
Primary School	2600	4305
Teachers' College	15	45

Of course the *expansion owed much to non-official enterprise*. In 1901, 356 secondary schools, 3982 primary schools, 52 training colleges and 11 colleges were non-official in nature. Social workers and nationalist leaders led the field, viz Annie Besant and others. A new socio-economic consciousness inspired the women to join professional and vocational courses also. Women's organisations began to lead the movement

Socio-economic
influences

for women's education. 'Women's Indian Association (1917), "National Council of Women" (1925), A. I. W. C. (1927) were such organisations. The movement against child marriage also helped the cause of education. And lastly Gandhiji's Sarvodaya movement accorded a special importance to the education of women. The cumulative effect of these movements doubled the number of girls in primary and secondary education, quadrupled it at collegiate level and recorded a ten-time increase in professional education in 1947, in comparison with the figures for 1921.

The constitution of free India recognises equality between men and women in society and before law. In fact, women are equal competitors with men in fields of employment. The economic crisis also forced this situation upon women. These trends influenced women's education. The Domestic Science and Fine Arts streams of the Mudaliar Scheme were meant primarily for women. In 1958, the Govt of India set up the Durgabai Deshmukh Committee (National Committee for Women's Education) which recommended that (1) for some more years, the question of women's education should be treated as a special problem, (2) a joint advisor for women's education should be appointed in Central Administration, (3) similar appointments should be made in all the States, (4) the appointment of female teachers in girls' schools should be made compulsory, (5) a common curriculum at primary stage and a differential provision for girls at secondary stage should be made, (6) separate vocational and adult education programmes should be provided for women, (7) a standing national committee for girls' and women's education should be formed at an early date.

Thereafter a committee was formed under Sm. Hans Mahta to consider the question of separate curricula. This committee opined that special attention to women's education within the general scheme should serve the purpose, and curricular differentiation should be a transitional practice. A further committee under Bhaktabatsalam considered the special problems of women's education in six under-developed States.

The reports of the Mudaliar Commission and the aforesaid committees laid the track for women's education in free India. Some quantitative expansion has surely been achieved. While in 1901, girls accounted for 12% of boys in primary education and 4% in secondary

education, the same figures at present are 60% and 30%. In 1901, only 23 girls were registered for higher education, while the figure at present is more than 3 lakh. Conservatism has also declined to an extent that 85%, 78%, and 40% of girl students at present read in co-educational schools at primary, lower secondary and secondary levels. The demands for professional and vocational education also went up.

The problems also are many. The proportion between boys' education and girls' education exhibits a wide disparity. The rural people are still lagging behind. Backward castes and tribes are still out of the picture. Early marriage is still practised.

Problems

Transport and other problems specially in rural areas constitute a stumbling block. And there is no denying the fact that in the eyes of the parents, sons are still more valuable than girls. The selection of studies is also defective. As yet, girls prefer humanities more than the sciences. And it must be noted above all that unemployment of educated women has already created a gaping wound.

This situation influenced the deliberations of the *Kothari Commission*. The Commission attached great importance to women's education. Although the commission recognised special claim of women to teaching, nursing and other social service avenues, it recommended equal treatment of women's education with men's education on terms of parity. Hence it recommended the abolition of Domestic Science stream from the scheme of general education and recommended its treatment on a vocational basis. It also placed special emphasis upon the study of science and mathematics by our girls.

Kothari Comm-
ission's views

Case of West Bengal

In West Bengal there are separate and special types of girls' institutions apart from the Co-educational institutions. In the rural areas $\frac{2}{3}$ of the girls at the secondary level and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the girls at collegiate level read in Co-educational institutions on equal terms with boys.

School education of girls as well as of boys is "free" in West Bengal. Various types of scholarships or stipends are also in vogue. Girls are gradually turning to the study of the sciences. Yet the proportion of girls in comparison with boys on the educational stage

is not encouraging. Predominance of courses in humanities makes girls' education a single-way traffic. Unemployment among educated women is already acute in West Bengal.

True it is that there is constitutionally recognised equality between men and women. True it is that efforts are being made to spread education among rural women, and education of girls upto complete secondary stage is 'free' in most of the States. Yet the obstacles and problems are also many. Social superstition and conservatism, particularly amongst muslims and tribal people is still deep. Provisions to look after the children of working women (i.e. creche-nursery-^{ing}) are lacking. Wide avenues of vocational fulfilment (other than cottage handicrafts) are not open. In spite of the Age of Consent Act, child marriage is still prevalent and it seldom occurs that girls can freely pursue their educational career in post-marital days. And above all, the illiteracy of mothers tells heavily upon the span and depth of girls' education.

CHAPTER VI

Development of Adult education

We have just referred to the baneful effects of large scale illiteracy of our women. This tragedy is equally true of our male population also. But even in the early part of the last century, literacy in India had not been inferior to that in Europe. Had the question of mass education and literacy received proper attention since then, our present problem of acute illiteracy might not have existed at all. But this was impossible for a colonial country.

The growth of national consciousness led to a concomitant consciousness about literacy. The Commission of 1882 had to devote its thought to the problem. Some isolated efforts were made since then. But little effect could be discerned. This again was natural because our national movement was initiated and led by the upper and middle classes who could not be expected to be enamoured of mass education.

A positive scope arrived when education was transferred to the control of elected Indian ministers consequent upon the reforms of 1919. The Congress policy of "mass contact" also created a favourable situation. But the economic crisis of 1929 did not allow any startling effects immediately. But our ideas became gradually clear. Provincial Autonomy created some scope for work. A programme of action under the initiative of Dr. Syed Mahmood was chalked out. Gandhiji's Basic Education scheme also brought the question of adult literacy into lime light. The administration also felt some impact. The Sargent Committee's Plan envisaged a 40 year programme of literacy.

Our concept changed after independence Literacy was combined with Fundamental Education to make it *Social Education*. The programme includes literacy, citizenship, political and economic education, health education and leisure education, all simultaneously through a single programme. Adult literacy programme has been integrated with Community Development Scheme. Some attempts are being made through rural radio centres, night schools, jail schools, documentary film shows, mobile library etc. The Janta College imparts training in agriculture, crafts, poultry, cooperative, health etc. Adult education is a state-charge although the Union Govt. offers monetary help. A National Book Trust and a National Centre of Fundamental Education work as central agencies.

CHAPTER VII

Developments in West Bengal

Our understanding will be more concrete and worthwhile if we concentrate upon the case of any particular state. Let us select West Bengal for this purpose.

Primary Education

Historical retrospect gives us a picture that Bengal had, in early 19th Century, a considerably extensive system of elementary education (ref: Adam's Report). But Bengal had led the field in accepting Western Education and English language, and to the proportionate extent primary education was neglected. A section of the gentry went to the extent of outspokenly opposing financial and administrative liability on mass education. This was definitely a tragedy for the education and culture of Bengal. A beginning of nourishment was made by Iswarchandra Vidyasagar and others. The Despatch of 1854 recorded change in Govt's attitude, although it remained more a paper record than a practical proposition. Bengal belonged to the permanently settled revenue areas and the Zaminders raised objection to obligatory payment of education cess. The cess controversy caused a wastage of time. A few modern primary schools were established while the traditional pathshalas were defeated in their struggle for survival. The serious beginning, as it was made in 1882, led ultimately to the *Bengal Primary Education Act of 1919*. Limited compulsion for boys within urban areas was proposed, although the achievements were negligible. The next step was the "Biss Scheme" for expansion of primary education. *The Bengal Primary Education (Rural) Act* was belatedly passed in 1930. This act proposed extension of compulsion to the rural areas and led to the formation of District School Boards. The Boards were charged with the responsibility of local planning and administration of primary education under supervision of the District administrative authorities with local cess and state grants. Sir Azizul Haque, as Education Minister, drew up a plan for expansion. But concrete achievements were little till 1947.

Freedom came with partition of Bengal and concomitant intensification of problems. West Bengal also accepted the 'Basic' pattern and in 1949 decided to orient the old schools and to establish new schools of the same pattern. The Junior Basic school would have 6 classes and 4 teachers.

During the first plan, the "Intensive Block" was established at Banipur with one Post Graduate Basic Training Collage, 2 Junior Basic Training Colleges, One Janta College, 32 Junior Basic schools, Research Centre, Community Centre, Library, State Orphanage etc.

A similar "Comprehensive" Block was established at Kalimpong. A few more Senior and Junior Training Colleges were established. Disparity between Primary and Basic schools was sought to be removed by

appointing "basic-trained" teachers in ordinary primary schools. The teacher problem was partially solved by the Employment Relief Scheme (Special Cadre Scheme). During the 2nd Plan, a craft was made compulsory for ordinary primary schools. During the 3rd Plan, more emphasis was placed upon orientation of primary schools than establishment of "basic" schools, and special attention was paid to the establishment of basic schools in urban areas. The *Urban Primary Education Act of 1963* was passed during the third plan period. This Act directed the Municipalities to introduce free and compulsory primary education and permitted the imposition of an education cess in the urban areas. They were further directed to assess their resources and needs, and were assured of state subsidy.

Under impact of all these measures and the general popular urge for education, there has, no doubt, been an expansion of primary education (including Basic education) in West Bengal since 1947. The following data will make it sufficiently clear :—

Expansion

Primary & Basic Schools		Pupils	Teachers
1950-51	14783	1416526	43192
1955-56	23081	2179037	6974
1960-61	27972	2638989	83732
1965-66	33000	4000000	98308
1970-71	40000	140000
1977-78	44000	6055000	145000

(The latest figures are not yet compiled). Statistical records show the existence of one primary school per square mile area, on average.

The failures should simultaneously be taken into consideration

Upto 1973, school provisions had been made for 93% of boys and 70% of Girls (average 73%) of the age group. But any person with knowledge of realities will challenge the veracity of these paper-claims. About 4000 villages cannot claim the existence of a primary school in them. Three teachers per school on the average stand in proportion to the student body in the ratio of 1 : 26. In more populated schools it is even higher than 1 : 40. Single-teacher schools are not absent. And the percentage of teachers trained still stands at 45.

The curriculum has been little rescued from the traditional pattern with domination of bookish learning. Children of class IV have still to study 6 different subjects viz-English, Bengali, History, Geography, Arithmetic and Science. With two books on Grammar, the total number of books exceeds 10. Hindi is added to the class V

Defects and
failures

course, and the number of books reaches the mark of 14. Some of the books for primary education have been nationalised. They are prepared and distributed

by the State Department of Education. The distribution-bungling is a recurring affair for every year. No wonder that the extent of stagnation and wastage in West Bengal is very large. In fact, between classes I and IV, there is wastage of 34.8%. The number of children in primary age group in West Bengal exceeds 55 lakh. Only 42 lakh of them enjoy some facilities (worthy or unworthy) for school attendance. The rest go without schooling. 10 lakh out of those who attend school have to pay tuition fees. Moreover, 30000 (out of about 40000) schools are 4-class institutions. Over-all 'free' education has been still a far cry in West Bengal.

Introduction of "free" primary education in West Bengal is over-due. In reality 60% of children in rural areas are out of the circuit of compulsion. 35000 villages out of a total of 38471 have primary schools; 3000 villages still had none. The condition in urban areas is worse still. Under the 1963 Urban Primary Education Act the Local Self Govt. bodies were permitted to impose an education cess of 2%. But little concrete has yet been done. Out of 88 Municipalities in West Bengal, only 17 have

A picture of abject
failure

"declared" primary education 'free'. The state of things in Calcutta where modern education had first found its roots is perhaps the worst. The Corporation runs only 284 primary schools.

There are 1030 other schools (including Govt. Free Primary schools, (generally known as G.F.P) and aided schools. Some high schools have attached fee-receiving primary sections (tuition fees varying between Rs. 2/- and Rs. 7/- per month). There are also the English-medium schools which do not care for registration aid or control. Privately owned and managed schools number more than 200. In the slum areas there are some institutions which are schools only by name. The total number of private institutions exceeds 600 and they provide for 125000 children. Yet the total provision takes into account only of 73% children. Out of a total child-population of 4 lakh belonging to the primary age group in Calcutta. 125000 children are left out of provisions. Compulsory, free and universal education is yet a far cry in West Bengal. In the rural areas, primary education is free, but not compulsory. In the urban areas it is neither free nor compulsory. Standard of education in the free primary school is miserably low. The richer citizens have to buy education dear.

The minimum and maximum scales of necessary expenditure p.m. may be noted. (On Rupee basis)

Class I - 1'10 ; 30'60

Class II - 1'14 ; 29'40

Class III - 2 8 ; 36'84

Class IV - 5'36 ; 53'35

Class V - 6'31 ; 53 6

The picture of inequality is glaring indeed !

In the matter of financing also, West Bengal lagged behind other states. The annual grant per student was is Rs 24/- only. 79'96% of the total expenditure is borne by the State Govt, 11'69% by the Local Bodies and 8'35% come from non-official sources. The education budget of Calcutta Corporation does not exceed 1'5 crore rupees.

Primary education in West Bengal is administered under several legislative acts unrelated to one another, viz, The Urban Act of 1919, The Rural Act of 1930, The Bengal Municipal Act of 1939, the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1951, the Urban Primary Education Act of 1963. There is no State Board and no Comprehensive Act (although one has been passed by the State Legislature and received Presidential Assent). Calcutta area has been kept out of the operation of the Urban Act of 1963. The state govt has very little scope of intervention in case of the failure of municipal bodies (excepting total super

session). The state of things in urban and rural areas differ widely indeed.

The situation calls for unhesitated implementation of the 45th article of the Constitutional Directives. A uniform system of primary education for the whole state on the Delhi model, and attendance mechanism on the Bombay model may relieve the crisis. Above all, a firm application of the common school principle is called for. Good results may come forth if an all-out effort is made by effective district administration, district and local planning under a state Board on the basis of education cess, at least 2% additional taxation in urban areas and 3% on revenue resources.

The 4th Plan for West Bengal showed that ;—

- (a) Number of admissible children increased by 1·5 lakh a year.
- (b) With this must be considered the claim of 10 lakh children who were unprovided for.
- (c) This would require 2000 more schools and 25000 more teachers (in addition to the then strength of 14 lakh)
- (d) Hence, during the total 4th Plan period, provisions for 18 lakh children were to be made. In that case universal provisions might be complete, and that was accepted as target.
- (e) A target was fixed for the provision of 'free' education for 42 lakh children (in place of the 32 lakh at the end of the 3rd Plan)
- (f) At least a third of the four-class schools were to be upgraded to five class schools.
- (g) Improvements in the supply of equipment and books all well as teachers' salaries etc. were promised.
- (h) Out of the total State Plan of 100 crore rupees for education, 45 crores were earmarked for primary education apart from 18 crore rupees more from ordinary revenue budgets.

But, failure to achieve these targets at the national and state levels was as clear as day light. *With a heavy backlog and unfulfilled promises we had entered into the 5th Plan period.*

Secondary Education

Various socio economic factors had provided a good soil in Bengal for the plantation of modern western education in early 19th Century. Even before the Despatch of 1854, secondary schools of the modern

type had been established. In contrast to some differential developments in other provinces, the pattern of English education through English medium was determined by the needs of the middle classes and dominated by university mindedness.

Yet, Bengal was the soil which produced a good crop of national consciousness and an extremist politics. Secondary education felt the impact of national movement, including the national education movement. One of the effects of national consciousness was a rapid expansion of secondary education. In the early years of the current century, Bengal had 50% of all the secondary school student population in India. Despite Lord Curzon's restrictive operations, the pace of growth was never slowed down. The reports of various committees had stirred up the intellect and academic interest of the Bengalee gentry, but a thorough reform was never attempted. Even a Board of Secondary Education could not be formed for many years. Bengali, however, was accepted as medium of instruction during Provincial Autonomy.

Independence came with partition of Bengal and the concomitant educational problems caused by large scale influx of refugee population from East Bengal. One positive feature, however, was that many new schools were established and teachers from East Bengal spread out in all corners of West Bengal facilitating a very rapid expansion of secondary (and consequently higher) education in this state.

The report of the West Bengal School Education Committee (Rai Chowdhury Committee) formed shortly after independence favoured a longer secondary education. Almost simultaneous publication of the report of Radhakrishnan Commission strengthened the urge for educational reforms. It's immediate effect was the formation of the Board of Secondary Education. The Board, however, remained genetically weak, because the "Autonomous" Board under a 'nominated' President was given wide responsibilities while financial resources earmarked for it were meagre and controlled by the State Govt. Apparent failures of the Board led to its supersession in 1954 and the beginning of a 10 year rule of an Administrator.

Meanwhile was published the Mudaliar Report which was broadly supported by the De Committee formed for West Bengal, with the

exception that it suggested certain changes in the formation of the State Secondary Board, the essence of which was circumscription of the Board's autonomy. The projected Board was not formed till 1967. Meanwhile the amended Mudaliar Scheme was accepted and introduced under the joint auspices of the State Govt and the Administrator of the "Board". The bureaucratic method of implementation under the influence of political or other pressure-groups caused haphazard development of Higher Secondary education, upgrading being mainly effected with the Humanities-stream. Real multipurpose education, as had been conceived of by the Commission, was implemented only in name.

The System of Secondary Education in W. Bengal

West Bengal implemented the amended Mudaliar Scheme. Higher Secondary Schools were established. But equal justice was not done to all the streams. Humanities led the field with Science and Commerce following in the second and third positions. Agriculture, Technical and Fine Arts streams were stray features. Some girls' schools, however, introduced the Domestic Science stream. Schools with more than 3 streams were rare.

Secondary Education in W. Bengal was divided into 3 phases viz—(i) Junior High stage (class VI to class VIII), (ii) Secondary/School Final stage (IX and X), and (iii) Higher Secondary stage (classes IX, X, XI). There were two external examinations, (i) School Final at the end of class X, followed by one year Pre University course conducted by the University, (ii) H.S. Examination at the end of class XI, followed by 3 year Degree Courses. (This system continued till recent times).

There was one Board of Secondary Education for the whole of W. Bengal (with 4 regional centres established a few years ago). Viswabharati has its own school and examination. Many schools are affiliated to Indian School Certificate System. Schools are conducted with Bengali, English, Tamil, Telegu, Oriya, Hindi, Nepali, Panjabi etc as media and the Board conducts examinations in all these languages. West Bengal therefore, has a cosmopolitan variety. This "variety" is however associated with class differences in education. There are costly schools at hill resorts. Missionary schools and Convents are no less costly. The English medium schools of the

neo-aristocrats of post-independence period also claim a socio-economic "prestige" correlated with a commercial economy. Schools *may also be classified on the basis of ownership and Control*. There are (i) Govt and Govt-sponsored schools, (ii) A few schools established by the Improvement Trusts, gradually handed over to Govt management, (other Municipal bodies do but little in the field of secondary education); (iii) the majority are private schools—aided, unaided and even proprietary.

In spite of these shortcomings, West Bengal recorded numerical expansion of secondary education by the following data :

(A) Senior Basic Schools (recently transformed into Junior High).

	No of schools	No of Pupils	No of Teachers
1955-56	4	397	25
1964-65	272	23723	1268

(B) Junior High and M. E. Schools :—

	No. Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers
1950-51	1261	109276	6268
1965-66	2076	250019	(not available)

(C) High and H.S. Schools :—

1950-51	1107	393251	15228
1965-66	2805	1249432	47014

In 1978 High Schools (including Madrasahs) numbered about 8500 with more than a lakh of teachers.

The 4th Plan Allocation was Rs. 20 crores with the objectives of (a) 12 year school education, (b) More schools of general type, (c) Model schools in each district, (d) Special schools for the crippled, (e) expansion of girls' education, specially in rural areas, (f) expansion of teacher education, (g) 'free' education, for all. None of the objectives has, however, been fulfilled. (We shall discuss the 5th plan and the latest position in a separate chapter).

In spite of the laudable returns on expansion, the problem of expansion will be lingering on for a long time. Only about 35% children of the 11-14 age group attend school. The figure for the secondary stage i.e. 14-17 group is a little higher than 20% of children.

In respect of the academic qualifications of teachers, West Bengal is comparatively fortunate. Undergraduate teachers are few. 50%

of teachers are at least graduates, 20% are Honours Graduates and the rest are Master Degree holders. But West Bengal lags much behind in respect of teacher training. Not even 30% of teachers for lower secondary stage are trained, and the percentage for secondary and higher secondary stages scarcely exceeds 60. The average for 1972 had been 35.4% and in 1974 about 38%. In 1974 many schools were granted formal affiliation without properly considering the questions of buildings, equipment and efficient teaching personnel. A fresh problem of untrained teachers has thus been added to the existing problem of a backlog.

For solution of the backlog problem, the Faculty of Education of Calcutta University had suggested and given successful trial to a scheme of short term intensive and comparatively less costly training under the auspices of the university. In contravention to this plausible scheme the State Dept of Education had introduced a more costly scheme of training at "Evening Centres" (mostly in schools) where trainees were expected to to attend after their strenuous school work and school teachers (with training degrees) to deliver lectures similarly after their day's work'. The scheme had been implemented in areas under jurisdiction of North Bengal and Burdwan Universities. A parallel was introduced for the area under the jurisdiction of Calcutta University. Courses and examinations were conducted by the State Dept of Education and Diplomas (not University Degrees) issued by the same authority. The scheme, as it worked, was considered by persons concerned with pedagogy as "unproductive and infructuous training." Fortunately after two sessions of trial and fruitless expenditure the Govt recently decided to discontinue the scheme.

Curricular organisation made in West Bengal in pursuance of the recommendations of Rai Chowdhury Committee and Mudaljar Commission proved immensely heavy. Children had to tackle 16 and 22 books in classes VI and VII respectively. The 3 language formula has not been effective. (Mother tongue throughout, compulsory English from class V onwards, compulsory Hindi for three years from class V. The burden was further increased with the addition of compulsory Sanskrit for lower secondary class and for Humanity Stream in the H.S. courses. Educational aids, appliances and equipment remained as of old. The result was consistent erosion of standard and mass failure. Extreme

liberalisation of the system of compartmental examination could not plug wastage.

Educational finances fell much short of needs. The approximate per capita expenditure was Rs. 64'00 at lower secondary stage and Rs 83'00 at secondary and H.S. stages per annum. A considerable part, even of this scanty allotment, was consumed by plants and buildings and "administration." Resources for real improvement of teaching and welfare work were scanty. The situation became worse still in consequence of the *replacement of grant-in-aid system with salary-deficit scheme* which meant that the Govt. would shoulder obligations in respect of staff salaries only, and that too on the basis of a narrow staff pattern. The Board, reconstituted in 1938, had only listed functions, particularly syllabus construction, affiliation of schools, conducting examinations & certification. Even with these limited powers, the board developed endemic troubles and was again superseded in 1977.

The Current Picture

West Bengal, in 1981, has about 9000 secondary schools (including about 5500 School Final & H. S. schools), more than 1500000 students and 75000 teachers. Ordinarily 300 new schools come into existence in normal course every year. But indiscriminate affiliation granted in 1974 increased the number by a spurt with 5/6 thousand new students and 2500 new teachers. Apparently these figures may seem staggering. In reality, however, only 29'9% of children in 11-14 group and 17'1% of 14-17 group could be provided for so far as it stood in that year. Even this scanty provision, when "secondary education for all" is the admitted principle, pushed the resources to a breaking point. The situation was made the worse by granting special permission to junior schools to send up candidates for the secondary final examination, without controlling the affairs of these schools and without according them any affiliation.

Solution of West Bengal's problems calls for robust measures on all fronts. (A) In respect of "policy", all types of schools should be brought under State control and "common school" principle should be effected, (B) On the pedagogic front (i) The language formula should be more scientifically drafted, (ii) The curricula and syllabuses should be more scientifically constructed, (iii) all vocational institutions of the

Suggestion for
improvement

medium level should be treated as secondary schools. (iv) Examination system should be thoroughly reformed, to guard against wastage and stagnation, (v) Teaching methods, aids and appliances should be improved (vi) Special secondary schools should be provided for the crippled and handicapped, (O). On the administrative front we required a democratic reorganisation of the Board, more finances, and gradual advancement towards universal secondary education. (D) Miscellaneous improvements are required in respect of (i) school accommodation in densely populated areas, (ii) attention to hygienic condition in school environment. (iii) provision of effective library, subject rooms sports, cocurricular work, welfare programmes and guidance and counselling.

We have theoretically accepted the principles of (i) vocationalisation of secondary education, (ii) longer period of secondary education, (iii) social service, (iv) work-experience and (v) Equality of opportunity. The nature, extent and method of implementation of the recommendations of Kothari Commission and the National Policy on Education will test the sincerity of our professions and purposes.

The State Dept in conjunction with the Board of Secondary Education *introduced the scheme of 10 year school education* with effect from 1974. Class V is still located in the secondary category, although it is proposed to be transferred to the primary stage in the near future. Hence West Bengal will have an integrated secondary education of 5 year duration (classes VI to X) with two sub-stages—VI to VIII and IX & X.

The new 10 year school education has been introduced with a new curricular pattern as follows :

(a) *Classes VI-VIII*—2 languages initially and one more language in VII and VIII (classical, modern foreign or modern Indian).

Physical Sciences ; Mathematics ; Life Sciences ; History ; Geography ; Social Service and Work Education.

(b) *Classes IX and X*—3 languages (including one elected from classical, modern foreign and modern Indian groups) Mathematics ; Physical Sciences ; Life Sciences ; History ; Geography ; Social Service, Work Education & Physical Education. An additional subject may be elected from a group of listed "academic" subjects or from a group of listed "vocational subjects."

The new curriculum could, by its nature, not be above criticism. Criticism was most labelled against the scheme of "social service" and "work education" as implemented by the Board of Secondary Education. The scheme also led to many more associated problems viz syllabus pattern and weight of curricular contents.

University Education

The problem of University education may be brought into high relief by citing the history of Calcutta University. This University, the oldest of the modern Indian Universities, had started on its journey in 1853. Bengal recorded the maximum expansion of higher education. Yet practical and production-orientation in education was literally unattained.

The University had achieved spectacular success under the leadership of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee between 1906 and 1914. Curzon's policy was practically defeated. Expansion was remarkable. The University took upon itself the task of teaching. Before 1912, at least 50 Professors and Lecturers were appointed for various subjects included in the curriculum. A real beginning of Science education was made with handsome endowments from Rashbehari Ghose and Taraknath Palit. Post Graduate classes were started before 1919 and a Post Graduate Council was formed. The recommendations of Calcutta University Commission (Sadler) were more effective outside Bengal. *Yet the academic recommendations were implemented in Calcutta*. Since then, the University achieved a steady growth. New faculties were opened, new subjects were introduced, roll strength more and more increased, and more and more colleges were affiliated.

The partition of Bengal had given a great jolt to the university. Most of the then colleges fell in the jurisdiction of East Pakistan, while a huge influx of student population taxed the resources of the University. The situation was improved by upgrading the Intermediate colleges, by establishing the sponsored colleges in accordance with a 'dispersal scheme' and private enterprise advanced apace. While in 1948 West Bengal had only 55 colleges, the number has now exceeded 300.

In the meantime, the number of Universities also went up. West Bengal, at present, has 8 Universities (including the central University

of Viswabharati and the recently chartered Bidhan Chandra Agricultural University). Mere multiplication of the same type of University irrespective of local environment and local needs could not solve the problems. Most of the universities remained affiliating and teaching. Some of the universities were founded without necessary permission from U. G. C. and these universities had to pass through a period of crisis in respect of teaching staff, library, equipment. The universities which had been created as unitary ones (Kalyani & Jadavpur) started taking non-resident students and affiliating colleges. Yet, the pressure upon the Calcutta University could not be reduced. It remains the biggest University with 16 faculties, 54 departments, and a roll strength amounting to 12% of the total university population in India. Students in the greater Calcutta area number 1 lakh 20 thousand.

However staggering these figures might seem, *a very small percentage of people in the 17—22 age group are fortunate to get higher education*. The percentage has not much exceeded four. Of these fortunate ones, only 25% pursue science courses, a few thousand pursue technological, medical and other professional courses and the vast majority pursue arts & commerce courses. A figure worked out a few years ago showed the following distribution of students among different branches of study (in Calcutta University).—Arts 49·2%, Sciences 23·2%, Commerce 16·8%, Engineering and Technology 3·6%, Medicine 2·3%—Law 2·1%, Education 1·3%, Agriculture 0·3% Veterinary sciences 0·1%, and others 0·1%. These figures expose the basic defects of one-sidedness in higher education. There are many more acute problems viz—accommodation, lack of equipment for research, shortage of qualified teaching staff, insignificant provisions of honours courses in the rural colleges, haphazard establishment of colleges and universities, outmoded syllabuses and methods of examination, colossal failure in examinations, domination of English lack of multiple avenues to draft the younger ones, absence of welfare work to ameliorate the condition of poor students etc. Students' unrest is a part and parcel of higher education.

Part V

EVOLUTION OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

CHAPTER I

Nature and Scope of Educational Administration

Gone are the days when education had been a private venture and educational institution belonged to the individual. No well defined theory of educational administration could be expected in those days

Mediaeval Europe witnessed the control of education by the denominational bodies. The logic was that the Church being the guardian of the spirit and education being concerned with the spirit, the Church must of necessity be the guardian of education. Administration of education by a denominational body followed the general prescriptions of the denominational Order. *It was a closed circuit without any scope for public intervention.*

Things changed with the advent of the modern era. For a time, there was a reaction against disciplinary scholasticism and monasticism of the middle ages. *Individualism held sway for some time.*

Things changed again with the advent of the concepts of Nationalism, National State and Democracy. Previous theories had earmarked a limited function of the state, leaving the rest open to private enterprises. *Modern theories concede widest powers and functions of the state as the highest organ of the society.* Even when state intervention was admitted, the attitude to educational administration was guided by the principle of 'control'. Administration, even fifty years ago, meant nothing more than partial provision, partial financing, inspection and control by Govt orders. *To day, the concept of the state and its functions has further changed.* Concept of educational administration also changed. If education is a purposive social process, it must have a prefixed telic goal. The goal may be reached if only institutionalised education is provided and maintained with the object in view.

Nature of Educational Administration

Obviously, educational administration is now considered as nothing but *a social process* influenced directly or indirectly by the socio-economic and cultural life of a country, the interaction of various internal forces and the impact of external forces. The work of administration now begins with the fixation of aims and their transformation into legislative acts. It then covers the whole field of execution and application of the aims through the provision of institutions, determination of curricula and instruction, ending with evaluation. Evidently, *A to Z of the field of education is now within the compass of educational administration.*

Educational administration has two inter-related aspects - (i) management of things and (ii) management of persons. Mere provision of institutions may lead education nowhere. The institutions must respond to social aspirations and also generate aspirations. Education being concerned with values and cultural pattern as well as practical avocations the society is intensely sensitive of education. The administrator, therefore, has to assess the public mind, recruit the proper personnel and handle the business with equity and social alertness.

The complex social life is influenced by group relationships, political philosophies, economic pattern and commercial enterprise, science and technology etc. Educational administration which reflects the social complex, therefore, draws nourishment from statutes and political ideals, sociology and social psychology, economic and business administration, technology, statistics etc. In fact, the U.S. concept of Commercial Business Management influenced also their Management of educational business.

The *aim of educational administration* is, therefore, to (1) Organise, (2) Command, (3) Coordinate, and (4) Control the whole field of education in an inter-related and comprehensive fashion. The simple word 'Planning' involves organising, proper staffing, directing, coordinating, budgeting, evaluating and reporting. The administrator must fix the goal of organisation, make use of the proper people to reach the goal, face the human problems involved in the process, and provide for innovations so that the dynamism of administration gets never lost.

Principles of Educational Administration

We may now sum up the principles of educational administration. The principles involve— (1) Fixation of purpose or goal of administration. (2) To determine the structure of work *i. e.* the tasks and the relationships involved in the task process. The task is heavy indeed, because it includes plants and buildings, finance and organisation, staff personnel, curriculum & instruction, student guidance and effective relationship between community and educational institutions. (3) On the basis of task-analysis, the administration must make unequivocal decisions. (4) The task analysis and selection of staff personnel must ensure job-satisfaction. (5) The Administrator must keep a keen watch on organisational equilibrium so that internal or external imbalance may not create a bottleneck. (6) And most important of all is that educational administration must provide constant leadership. The leadership must not be inert and symbolic only. Instant decision-making, continuous advice and flow of information, timely initiative on its own part and initiative on the part of the actual job doers constitute the character of genuine leadership. (7) There had been times when autocratic rule was the order of the day. Trends of autocracy are not completely non-existent now. But these being days of democracy, only elements of reaction tend towards bureaucracy and autocracy. In the present era of social life, only democratic initiative of the people and their voluntary co-operation may ensure success.

Scope of Educational Administration

It is now evident that the scope of educational administration is as wide as the scope of education itself is. The scope may be enumerated in a simplified form as the¹ following :—

(1) *Educational Planning.* It is the first essential component of the administrative process, because purposes and concepts enter into planning, and planning in its turn establishes purposes and concepts.

(2) *Financing and allocation.* Apart from providing an effective financing apparatus, it must also look after equitable allocation between types of education as per needs.

(3) *Determination of the system and the structure of education.* It involves the provision of various types of education and institutions as per plan.

(4) *Buildings and Equipment.* Even the loudest sounding purposes and copious plans must come to nought if plants and equipment are not provided in the practical field of operation.

(5) *Curriculum and Instruction.* The fixed object and the determined purpose must find shape in the curricula. Fulfilment of curricular objective depends upon effective instructional process.

(6) *Staff Personnel.* Fulfilment of objectives is dependent upon the placement of the right person at the right place, both in administration and in teaching.

(7) *Student Personnel.* Fulfilment of objectives depends also upon the proper selection of student body for a particular type of education. This is the essence of selective approach in education.

(b) *Stimulation.* Success of administration depends upon popular enthusiasm. Through publicity and other forms of campaigns, the administration must stimulate the public mind and through task analysis it must motivate the job-doer.

(9) *Internal administration.* Any bottleneck in the over-all system of administration or the internal administration of particular institutions must adversely affect the prospects of success. Constant attempts should be made to ease any apprehended crisis.

(10) *Inspection.* An effective internal administration may be ensured by a scientific process of inspection and supervision. Inspection must not mean bureaucratic overlordship. It should be positive, democratic and continuous.

(11) *Co-ordination.* The wide function of administration must of necessity call for sub-divisions and variations. Success of the total endeavour would depend upon effective co-ordination.

(12) *Evaluation.* The administrative process is not blind. To save it from entering into a blind alley and to ensure a systematic improvement, the essential need is continuous evaluation, so that timely measures may be adopted not only for remedy, but also for innovation and improvement.

(13) *The nature and extent of mass participation.* The admini-

stration must take into account the different social agencies, organised or unorganised and directly or indirectly related to or interested in education and assess their potentiality with a view to taking advantage of mass consciousness and using mass participation in driving the educational organisation towards the pre-fixed goal.

(14) *Medium of Instruction and language learning.* Since universal mass education is the accepted principle of the current era, the administration cannot but be concerned with the medium of instruction and the languages to be learnt so that maximum benefit may accrue to the maximum number, and education may be genuinely meaningful and not remain ornamental.

(15) *Productive Employment.* Education is not an end in itself. It must be purposeful in the sense that the educand may use the acquired knowledge, skill and habits for self fulfilment and also for improvement of the society by the application of his productive capacity. Educational administration, must therefore, guard against wastage, and plan education in a way that productive employment may be ensured. Man power planning must be the administration's business.

CHAPTER II

Factors and Theories that Determine Administration

Just as political administration is a practical application of a political philosophy, so is educational administration the practical side of educational philosophy. It is a part and parcel of the entire education system. It evolves and changes in accordance with evolution and change in the educational pattern and system. In fact, the principles of educational administration are concomitant with the aims and system of education. The older concept of 'administration' had however been very narrow. To the layman it simply meant 'control' through administrative orders, decrees and fiat, financial strings and bureaucratic inspection. *The modern concept of administration, however, is very wide. The scope of adminis-*

Concept of
administration

tration as discussed in the preceding chapter, now encompasses the whole field—from educational planning, provision and maintenance of institutions to teachers' service conditions, students discipline and welfare. The whole field of education comes in the purview of administration. It was natural, therefore, that various theories of educational administration should develop in the train of different theories of education. And theories of education are not born in vacuum. The socio-economic pattern of life and the value-system thereof gives rise to educational theories. This explains the rise of conflicting as well as complementary theories of educational administration. (We propose to discuss the modern theories and our problems in the next volume. For the present we shall confine ourselves to a study of the development of educational administration and the pattern as it stands now, so that we may adopt the correct theory and build up a better future.)

As said earlier, educational administration is determined by (a) Philosophy of life as pursued by a social group of people. (b) Theory of state, and (c) Theory of education. Evidently, *various forces and factors interact in the field of educational administration.* We may refer to some of them.

An individualistic philosophy or a socialistic philosophy pursued by a society not only endows the society with a typical socio political character, but also with an educational administration in conformity with that character.

The role of Ideologies	The relations between individual and individual, between individual and society, between group and group determine the value systems, and through it determine the nature of educational administration. <i>The place of private enterprise</i> in education must influence the pattern of administration.
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The political ideology pursued by a state is a vital determinant of educational administration. *The nature of administration in a capitalist and in a socialist state* must differ from each other in nature, if not in form. An autocratic and totalitarian state administers education in a pattern and method which must differ from the practices of a democratic state. *The theory about the function of the state* also determines the type and extent of adminis-

tration. The *laissez-faire* theory had left very little for the state to do. With the evolution of political thought, a wider range of activities of the state was admitted. But here again the difference between *obligatory and permissive functions* persisted for a long time and the persistence has not all died down. With the advent of the '*Welfare Concept of State*' the field of state intervention further widened. And lastly, the growth of socialistic ideals, the all pervasive character of the state and its functions became an established doctrine. This evolution of concepts helped and conditioned the evolution of educational administration.

Role of State and role of the *Private agencies* are correlated aspects forming two sides of the same shield. Growth of state intervention circumscribes the role of private enterprise. A competitive society allows private economic enterprise and private educational enterprise. No state, however in the present era may permit unlimited and uncontrolled private enterprise. There must, however, be variations in the nature and extent of limitations imposed by the state. A collectivistic economy and social system cannot harbour private agencies. A vital problem in this field is the freedom of *Denominational Bodies* in educational enterprise. The domination of an established Church gives a peculiar nature to educational administration quite different from the nature of administration in a state pursuing secular principles and practices.

The question of *democracy in educational administration* is another aspect of the theory of state. A democratic state fosters democracy in education to the extent of equality of educational opportunities, recognition of popular initiative and responsibility from the bottom even in school management. All the administrative problems of centralisation and decentralisation originate in the nature, extent and form of democracy. The other side of the picture is *bureaucracy*. The question is very often raised whether an efficient bureaucracy is better than an inefficient democracy. Indian national leaders had once said, 'Good Govt. is no substitute for Self Govt.' A similar reply may be given that 'efficient bureaucracy is no substitute for democracy in educational adminis-

tration.' And our experience gave us to understand that a bureaucracy can seldom make a common cause with popular aspirations. *The situation becomes worse confounded in the case of a foreign bureaucracy in a colonial country.*

Another aspect of the political factor is the *structure of the state*. Educational administration in a unitary type of constitution differs from that in a federal type. The nature and extent of federalism also makes a change (Weak federation with limited federal powers or a strong federation with unspecified federal power.) Again, attitude to *Local Self Govt.* is a vital factor. Absence of local self govt gives a typical character to a centralised administration. And recognition of local authorities imparts a different character to educational administration.

Chauvinistic nature of a state accounts for a particular type of education and its concomitant administration. Nazi Germany created a classical example of educational administration dictated by chauvinism, racialism and militarism. There are other examples of administration shaped by attachment to nationalism. Even Revivalism has been a vital element in educational practices. On the other hand, the rapid growth of *internationalism* in the modern era introduced a concept of enriched administration by way of a 'give and take' principle. Valuable experiences of the other countries may well be used in and integrated with the pattern of education in one's own country. The concept of educational planning has been tremendously influenced by a comparative study of educational administration prevalent in countries with varying socio-political systems. A world outlook is conducive to the improvement of educational administration.

Each country's system of education develops parallel with the country's history. *Forces of historical evolution* and the values which are crystallised in the form of traditions immensely influence the evolution of educational administration.

The creative genius of a people and the cherished value

system get organised into a *culture pattern*. Although inter-
 Culture pattern penetration of cultures has been true for all the
 - historical time, variations also are true. The
 cultural background cannot but influence not only general adminis-
 tration, but also educational administration.

The *social factor* is of immeasurable importance. If we refer
 to the case of ancient India, we may see how the prevalence of
 Social factor *caste system* had influenced education. British
 aristocracy gave a peculiar character to the British
 system of education. Social mobility caused a new turn in America.
 The *abolition of class privileges* in the socialist countries gave a
 still different character to educational administration in those
 countries.

Apart from class and caste distinctions, the social question
 finds expression in attitude to women or integration between racial
 and linguistic stocks. There may be unequal developments between
 social groups. We have the problems of *scheduled castes and*
scheduled tribes for which our administration has to provide special
 privileges with the object of equalisation.

Lastly we must refer to the influence of *economic factors*. A
 particular type of economy demands a particular type of education
 and educational institutions. Integration of varieties
 Economic factor in a general system of administration poses itself
 as a major problem of administration.

The concept of *education as an investment* gives rise to the
 complementary concept of education as man-power preparation.
 In such a case educational planning means man power planning.
 No plan can succeed without an effective organisation and
 administration. Obviously, attitude to planning, nature of planning
 and extent of planning are determining factors in educational
 administration.

We may, therefore, conclude with the observation that the
 administration of education in any country is an evolutionary
 process and its growth depends on historical, cultural, social and
 political factors. Michael Sadler had aptly observed that things
 outside school influence education more than things inside. Since
 internal management, discipline or routine work alone is not the

only concern of educational administration and since it is influenced by various external factors as discussed earlier, we may say that educational administration is influenced more by factors outside educational institutions than by factors inside

Need for a Theory of Administration

Ordinarily and casually it may seem that educational administration is a routine affair occurring in a cyclic fashion of foundation of institution, maintaining institutions, controlling institutions. This is however an apparent truth. The reality is that every action has an overt or covert principle behind it. And every principle of action is determined by a theory working from behind.

Education being a social process, it seeks to fulfil some social objective or purpose. The purpose is determined by the nature and form of the society and the values and norms of social life. The older generation provides education in a particular manner so that the younger generation may be reared up in accordance with the pre determined goal. This has always been true in regard to education and its administration. In the evolutionary process of social change, the social norms and forms changed and a concomitant change occurred in education. The history of such changes constitutes the evolutionary history of educational theories.

Education in ancient Sparta was administered in a fashion that the products of that education might serve the needs of the Spartan State. The individualistic education in Athens was designed in conformity with the nature and content of the Athenian State. Even the role of Sophism should be viewed from that end. Moreover, in a slave-society, education was so designed and administered that the institution of slavery might be perpetuated.

In the days of feudal society and serfdom as a social institution, there was a new class-relationship and class-content in society. The interests of the Lords and the Villeins stood diametrically opposite to each other. The aristocracy provided and administered education with major privileges enjoyed by the ruling class.

Moreover, the ecclesiastical organisation being very powerful and almost omnipotent in the mediaeval era, educational administration could not escape the control of the Church. Even in the early modern era the fate of institutions, including the famous universities of Europe, changed with the rise and fall of Protestantism and Catholicism in each state.

The ice began to melt only with the Renaissance which recognised the worth of the individual and championed the cause of unfettered self-determination. This was the value system of the new class of Bourgeois which broke the shackles of conservative and disciplinary scholasticism and monasticism of the medieval days, and upheld the liberal principle of free enterprise in education, as well as freedom of enterprise in educational administration. This found various expressions in idealism or naturalism (including Rousseau's concept of 'freedom' in Education).

Extreme individualism, by upholding the principle of free enterprise and survival of the fittest landed the society in a fresh crisis, because democracy which was a creation of the modern society, could not allow the unchecked aggrandisement of a section of the society. Equality of opportunity could be established only by the highest social organisation, the State.

The right of the state to administer education was not admitted without a challenge. Various individualistic theories of state, including the Social Contract were propagated or had recourse to with the aim of circumscribing the functions of the state. Theories were propounded about essential (compulsive) functions of the state and its voluntary functions. Education was obviously placed in the list of non-essential functions. Yet, in course of time, the right of the state to intervene in the matter of the parent's choice of education for their children was sought to be made incontrovertible. As against this, right of the state was challenged even in law courts as is borne out by the famous *Kalomazzo* case in the U.S.A. The principle of state intervention was admitted.

The recognition of the right of the state to provide education and control its administration was not an end in itself. The next question was the extent and nature of control. Here, again,

differences cropped up on the question of the nature and extent of collectivism. As against the socialist theories of state intervention, the theory of 'welfare state' was proposed as a half way house. The end of the conflict is yet to be reached.

In the present era of planned social development, there cannot but be a vital role of the state in the administration, because planned education is a sine-qua-non of a planned society. It is the state alone that can provide for equalisation of educational opportunities, universal provision, common school, removal of regional or other types of imbalances etc. It is only the state that can provide for special attention to the needs of backward classes or communities (the Scheduled Tribes and Castes in the case of India).

But state participation obviously brings in various questions of a socio political nature. There will be a lot of difference in educational administration when a state is autocratic or democratic, or when a state is totalitarian or populist. The philosophy of the state, the extent of civil liberty, group relations between religious sects or communities, the extent and nature of private enterprise in education allowed by the state, centralisation or decentralisation in administrative structure, the extent of local initiative granted by the state, apartheid or equal and common facilities, the nature and extent of taxation for education, constitutional provisions for education, the nature and extent of freedom allowed to the educational institutions, the extent of state responsibility in education, class privileges in education and a lot of other questions will enter directly or indirectly into problems of educational administration.

In the absence of a clear principle in these matters, educational administration must enter into a blind alley. Evidently, a theory of administration can act as a guide towards a goal. The need for a theory of educational administration, therefore, cannot be denied or challenged.

CHAPTER III

Evolution of Educational Administration (A General Survey)

Ancient India had her own institutions like the Gurukul, the Parishad, the Ashrama and the University. *All these institutions were autonomous in their administration* Learned monarchs or monarchs who were lovers of learning patronised the institutions by (1) making grants of rent-free lands, (2) granting pensions, donations and titles to the teachers, and (3) appointing the scholars in the service of the Court. But even the greatest benefactor never attempted direct intervention in and control of education. The school belonged to the teacher and its administration was a joint venture of the teacher and the pupils. The teacher was the sole authority to make decisions on curricula, methods of study, admission of students as also their discipline, punishment or even expulsion. He drew up the school calendar and list of rituals. The teacher controlled the space, depth and pace of learning for each pupil. And he was the examining and certifying authority.

During the Buddhist period, some of the Viharas and Sangharams developed into mighty universities. These were administered in a federative fashion. Rules and regulations were drawn up and important officials were elected. Collective responsibility was ensured. It was a corporate body of teachers and pupils. But Vihara as a unit enjoyed autonomy. Most of the famous kings and emperors from the Asokan era to the Pala era helped these institutions with endowments and patronage. But *never was a state control established upon those institutions*. In short, "*State patronage without state control*" was the accepted mode of relationship between state and education. The state had, in no period, a department of education although much was done under orders of the king.

The same tradition continued in the mediaeval days when the Sultans and Badshahs of Delhi and the provincial Kings continued

to patronise education in their own way. Some of them built and repaired school buildings, recruited teachers, endowed properties, granted pensions, gratuities and titles. But they did not interfere in the internal administration of the institutions. Babur's patronage to education flowed through the Public Works Department. But none of the rulers had a permanent state department of education. State benefaction was 'ad hoc' in nature.

This tradition continued till the end of the 18th Century although the advent of missionary enterprise caused some vital changes. The missionaries had extra territorial loyalty in the sense that although they worked in India, they owed allegiance to their Orders which were incorporated in various countries of Europe. Although the decadent court of Delhi or the Provincial centres had no love-labour for the missionary educational enterprise they could seldom pursue a consistently antagonistic policy. The missionaries received patronage from their own orders and institutions like S. P. C. K. and to that extent they were subject to the control of some superior authority. The East India Company helped the missions with block grants, special grants, lottery money etc. But there could be no question of state intervention in education till the Company acquired political power. It was only after the Company transformed itself from a trading company to a ruling power that a state machinery was established and state intervention in educational administration could be thought of.

State of Things Between 1757 and 1813

There was a considerable time gap between the advent of British power in India and its interest in educational administration. The E. I. Company's government did not propose to administer education with immediate effect from its advent as a political power.

The reasons behind this late start were not far to seek. Till 1757, the Company had simply been a Trading Company. It could at best aid the educational endeavours of selected entrepreneurs, particularly the missionaries, which it actually did.

Although in 1757 (Battle of Plassey), the Company established itself as the determinant of the fate of Bengal, it did not directly take upon itself the responsibility of administering the state, not to speak of administering education. The agreement with the titular Nowab of Bengal which forced him to accept a nominee of the Company as the Naib Nazim who would actually administer the Subah, and the agreement with the powerless and titular Emperor of Delhi which made the Company the Diwan of Bengal Subah, actually vested some direct administrative responsibility in the Company. Obviously, the question of administering education could arise thereafter i. e., after 1765.

The existence of enemies and antagonists within and without India coupled with the fear of losing the newly founded empire, prevented the Company from taking any hasty steps in education.

The policy of 'benevolent neutrality' in socio religious affairs of India also included neutrality in affairs of culture and education. In actual practice, the Govt of the Company adopted the policy of forging a link with the conservative aristocracy. It established the Calcutta Madrasah and the Benares Sanskrit College and administered them in its own style and fashion.

In the absence of a definite state policy in education, there could be no question of administering it or of evolving a distinctive theory and principle of administration.

Early stages of State Intervention

The first important step in this direction was taken in 1813, when the Charter Act of that year provided for the spending of a lakh of rupees per year for the promotion of learning and for patronage to learned "natives". The aims of learning were not enunciated, nor were the types of learning that were to be patronised. Yet the initiation of spending for education from revenue receipts meant the recognition of the state's duty in education. But the paltry amount of a lakh of rupees was insignificant in relation to the vastness of the country and the magnitude of the needs. With the exception of the minor role to be played by the state with a small purse of one lakh rupees in hand, a major role of private enterprise, both missionary and indigenous, was

recognised by implication. 1813, therefore, registered a partnership of the state in educational enterprise together with other agencies. In reality, the state had not the capacity or the machine to control and administer the whole field of education. Study of the evolution of educational administration since 1813 amounts to a study of how the minor role of the state was transformed into a major role : how a thorough state control was established, how the nature of the state and the system of education influenced educational administration from phase to phase and how the impact of India's national movement infused new forces in the educational system and educational administration.

Even after the passing of the said clauses of the Charter Act of 1813 nothing could be done for a decade, due to other exigencies of the Company's Govt. Moreover, the Company's Officers in India were at a loss to decide where to begin and how. After a decade of inaction, the Governor General in Council resolved on 17th July, 1823, to form the *General Committee of Public Instruction* (G. C. P. I.) to administer the educational grants on behalf of the Govt. This Committee of 10 members included H. T. Princep and H. H. Wilson. The Committee was given the authority to make its own policy and to decide upon the means and methods of patronage to education. It should, however, be remembered that the G. C. P. I. was a body of ad hoc nature, and not a state department of education.

Till the middle of the 19th Century, British administration in India had not been thoroughly centralised. Large pockets of unoccupied territories lay between British dominions from Bengal to Madras and Bombay. Although Pitt's India Act had vested sufficient powers in the hands of the Governor General and the Supreme Council of Calcutta, the authority could not always be exercised in practice. *The local Councils in Madras and Bombay Presidencies had to act on their own, as required by local conditions.* In spite of the G. C. P. I., therefore, differential developments occurred in Madras, Bombay and elsewhere. Supremacy of the Governor General's Council was consciously and gradually established only by the middle of the century.

Administrative Developments in Bombay : The Bombay Native

Education Society was accepted as the principal agency. The Directors sanctioned Grants-in-Aid to this body. It established two Govt. colleges (the Poona Sanskrit College and the Elphinstone College). In 1840, however, the Bombay Govt. formed a Board of Education. Out of seven members of this Board, three were nominated by the Native Education Society which was thereafter wound up. In 1842, the Province was divided into 3 educational divisions, a European Inspector and an Indian Assistant being placed in charge of each. *The Board of Education functioned till 1855, when the system of administration was shaped in pursuance of the Despatch of 1854.*

*Administrative Developments in Madras :—*Administration in Madras developed in a chequered fashion. Madras had a Board of Public Instruction. In 1836, this Board was reconstituted as a Committee of Native Education. In 1841 it was replaced by a Board. In 1842, this again was superseded by a Council of Education, which again was dissolved 1847 at the instance of the Court of Directors, and the Board was reinstated. In 1848 the Council of Education was again revived only to be replaced by a Board of Governors in 1851,

Developments in North-West Province (U. P.): North-West Province which was a later addition as a Province was fortunate in having Mr. Thomason as its Governor. *He created an education department of the Govt.* A govt village school was planned in every Tehsildari Head Quarter. A system of inspection of indigenous schools was instituted through Visitor General, Zilla Visitors and Parganah Visitors. The Province, therefore, had little difficulty in making readjustments after the Despatch of 1854 was received.

The Panjab was conquered before 1850 and the whole of India came under thorough British occupation. Contiguity of territorial occupation and homogeneity of authority was clearly established. *A centralised administration lay in the course of events.* This was achieved by the Despatch of 1854.

Department of Education

The Despatch of 1854 directed the establishment of a Department of Education in each of the five provinces (3

Presidencies and N. West Province & Panjab). The department would be headed by a Director of Public Instruction, who would be helped by a Crops of Inspectors. The duties of the provincial departments of education, which were instituted in 1856, were to (i) advise provincial Govts on educational matters, (ii) administer and control state funds, (iii) conduct Govt. institutions, (iv) supervise private institutions, (v) disburse Grants-in-aid to private institutions, (vi) adopt all measures necessary to improve and expand education, (vii) compile annual report for submission to Govt. *The Dept. of Education was thus given almost a blank cheque and was vested with wide powers.*

Grants-in-aid to private institutions were to be sanctioned upon inspection conducted by departmental inspectors and subject to other conditions being fulfilled by the applicant institutions. Government Grants, however, partially met the expenses, the rest being borne by local managers, benefactors, and parents (in the form of tuition fees). Even the partial grant was made conditional upon fulfilment of specified requirements. *A thorough Govt control was thus established without establishing thorough Govt responsibility.* This was a shift from the position of 1813. The G. C.P.I. formed in pursuance of the Charter Act of 1813 was not to control the whole field of education. It disbursed fixed amounts sanctioned by Govt. Its control of education was partial. The Dept of Education established in pursuance of the Despatch of 1854 also provided a fraction of the money necessary for education, and the major burden was still left for the non official agencies to bear. *Yet educational administration was governmentalised and the control was almost total.*

Administration was also *centralised*. After 1854, particularly after 1858, the centre of interest shifted from London to Calcutta. The authority of the Directors was replaced by that of the Secretary of State for India. The Parliament took less interest, as the interest of the Central Govt of India increased. In 1855, a Central Committee was formed to plan the Universities proposed by the Despatch. The Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were brought into being in 1857 by acts of the Central Executive Council. Between 1865 and 1870 surveys were conducted by

Special Officers appointed by the Central Govt. Quinquennial Reviews were published by the central authority in 1886-87, 1891-92, 1896-97 and 1901-02. Innumerable resolutions were passed during this period. And the Education Commission of 1882 was instituted by order of the Central Govt. Between 1854 and 1896, all superior posts were held by Europeans. Thus, *centralisation coupled with Europeanisation was an element of educational administration in this period.*

Colonial Character of Educational Administration

Centralisation was but one characteristic of educational administration. British economic and political authority had, by this time, established complete hegemony. A colonial country was given a colonial type of education. And *colonial type of administration was concomitant to colonial education.*

Downward filtration, inspite of its official abandonment reigned supreme. Least attention was paid to the education of the masses. The indigenous schools were allowed to die and the vacuum was not filled in by state enterprise. English, as a medium of instruction, still received undue favour from the department. Secondary and university education was made a clerk-making education. The universities were made simply examining and certifying institutions. Productive education contributing to India's development was not provided. Industrial development in a colony could not be desired by an Imperialist power. Hence technical and vocational education received the least attention of the department. *Administration was undemocratic and hureaucratic, bereft of any sympathy for the people's aspirations.* Indian revenues were spent and squandered with an imperialist purpose and even in expansionist warfare. The upper rungs of the department were completely Europeanised. The department was inadequately staffed. Hence control through fiat became a practice. Discrimination against certain types of private entrepreneurs with an ulterior motive was the order of the day. And most awkward was the consistent doctrine of State withdrawal from the field of education. The Despatch of 1854 declared that the Govt. "looked forward to the time when any general system of education entirely

provided by Govt may be discontinued with the gradual advance of the system of grant in aid, and when many of the existing Govt institutions, specially those of a higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of and aided by the State." *Grant in aid was a corollary to withdrawal policy.* Grant in-aid codes were drawn up with enormous powers concentrated in the hands of departmental inspectors. Aids were meagre, rules were cumbrous and elaborate, discrimination was rampant. And all powerful bureaucrats held sway.

And to crown everything, the Indian Education Service (I.E.S.—an Imperial service) was instituted in 1896. Recruitment was made in England. With certain exceptions, the service was a monopoly of Englishmen. Democratic initiative of the masses in administrative affairs was least invited excepting donations and subscriptions for establishment and maintenance of school, which relieved the govt of its responsibility.

Thus, *a colonial type of administration was set up for a colonial type of education.*

A Short Period of De-centralisation

Consequent upon the growth of notional consciousness, bureaucratic centralisation had to be partially compromised. Institution of local self govt bodies had started from 1870. The Govt was faced with the problem of financial stringency. *Shifting of burden to people's shoulders required the partial shifting of authority to local self govt institutions.* The problem of educational cess gave this exigency a concrete shape.

In face of the growing tempo of movements conducted by the Indian Association, the Govt of Lord Ripon adopted a diversionary tactic by passing the Local Self Govt Act of 1882. An elective element was infused into local self governing institutions. Specified powers and functions were granted by law. Financial sources were earmarked. Of course Lord Ripon and leaders of the British Govt. made it unequivocally clear that *the measure was nothing but some devolution of authority in the interest of better administration and was by no means any decentralisation of administration.* The powers of local self governing bodies e. g. Corporation, Municipalities, District Boards, Local Boards etc. were severely circumscri

bed. The Education Commission of 1881-82 was instituted at such a juncture

In regard to secondary education, this Commission simply wanted to mitigate some of the bureaucratic excesses. It observed that, (1) Every application for grant should be replied to, (2) Grant should be impartially sanctioned on the basis of locality and class of institution, (3) Grants should be disbursed without delay, (4) There should be periodic increase in the budget provision for education, (5) Managers and teachers of non govt. schools should be associated with the administration of all departmental examinations, (6) Scholarships and rewards should be awarded to students from all schools, irrespective of other considerations and 7) Local co-operation should be sought.

Administration of secondary education was, thus, *neither decentralised nor handed over to local bodies*. The department mainly supervised private institutions and maintained a few. The policy of *laissez faire* continued. The Commission simply tried to mitigate some of the grievances expressed by nationalist India. The Govt failed to identify with the people. Moreover, the I. E. S. was instituted a decade after the foundation of the National Congress.

An amount of decentralisation was, however, effected in the *administration of Primary education*. Maintenance and control of primary schools vested in the District and Municipal Boards, their financial sources being local cess and Govt. subsidy. The amount of local rates (pre determined by the Provincial Govt.) and the state subsidy however fell far short of needs. The ultimate failure of *sham decentralisation* was a foregone conclusion.

Centralisation Again

A new turn in the national movement represented by cultural revivalism and political extremism coincided with the administration of Lord Curzon (1898—1905).

The Curzon period was characterised by *several favourable features*. Due to British success in world economy, larger finances were now available. A stable system of relation between the Central and the Provincial Govts ensured a better collection of

revenue and better economy in expenditure. Resources improved and the Central Budget showed consistent surplus. Central grants to education were increased. Improvements were also effected in provincial, local and private contributions. While the total expenditure on education was Rs. 401 lakh in 1901-02, it rose to Rs. 1837 lakh in 1921-22.

But an arrogant imperialist as he was, Lord Curzon could not allow laissez faire opportunities to private Indian enterprise which had been, in Curzon's opinion, transforming the schools and colleges into "hotbeds of political extremism". *His policy favoured a more active role of the state.* The withdrawal policy was abandoned and increased Govt duty recognised. The inspection staff was strengthened. The Govt clearly demanded the right to control private enterprise on the plea of qualitative improvement. Departmental control was increased in a bureaucratic fashion. This led G. K. Gokhale to characterise the administration as "narrow, bigoted and inexpansive rule of experts."

Curzon plainly held that withdrawal was suicidal. The duty of the state must be done. In support of a more active role of the state he raised the bogey of 'efficiency'. In his opinion, the Indians could never attain equal efficiency with Englishmen. *Indiansation of educational administration was, therefore, halted. Laissez faire was replaced by control and centralisation.* The role of the state was, thus partly political and partly educational. The political character of the state was "Unmixed Imperialism" and the character of the administration was "unmitigated bureaucracy."

Consequent upon the Education Conference at Simla in 1901, Lord Curzon instituted the Universities Commission in 1902 upon the recommendations of which was passed the Universities Act of 1904.

In regard to secondary education the previous view had been that the Dept. should draw up conditions of grant and comprehensive Codes. But no serious attempt had been made to control unaided schools. The managers who did not care for aid were left free. But Curzon demanded that the Govt. had the right to control private enterprise. The provincial codes of grant-in-aid in his days were almost the same as the code for colleges. Every

school was required to secure recognition from the Department as well as recognition from the University. The University had no inspection system, and depended upon information supplied by the school concerned. For practical purposes the University and the Department worked independently. In 1904 the universities made fresh regulations for recognition of schools. An unrecognised school could not send up candidates for the Matriculation Examination. Grant-in-aid, right to send up pupils, right to earn scholarships vested only in recognised schools. Pupils could not be transferred from an unrecognised school to a recognised one. Thus was extreme control of the Govt established.

To compensate for this *unadulterated bureaucracy*, Curzon provided large educational grants to Provincial Govts. Large funds were spared to increase Govt grants to private schools. And the Inspectorate was much strengthened.

In the matter of primary education, Curzon pursued a mixed policy of qualitative improvement and quantitative expansion. More financial assistance was given to primary education. At the same time a part of the freedom of local bodies had to be sacrificed to bureaucratic centralism. Institution of the Director Generalship of Education was an outcome of the centralising policy. (H. W. Orange worked as the first Director General of Education.

The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 administered a dose of constitutional progress by introducing an elective element within limitations. Political powers, however, were far from popular control. Hardly any of Curzon's policies was abandoned. Educational Policy resolution of the Central Govt. announced in February 1913 followed in the wake of Curzonianism.

Impact of National Education Movement

Meantime the National Education Movement demanded Indian control. But the Central Civil Service personnel (I. E. S.) were opposed to national aspirations. The conflict, therefore, continued for some time till Montagu announced the objective of Montagu-Chelmsford reforms as "increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian Administration". *An era of rapid Indianisation thus ensued.* The following figures are self-evident.

No. of I. E. S. Personnel—

	Men		Women	
	1916-17	1921-22	1916-17	1921-22
Europeans	213	200	19	31
Indians	9	120	—	2
Vacant	20	53	2	9
	242	373	21	42

Administrative Loyalty vs Freedom

The National Education Movement served as a catalytic agent to crystallise and precipitate the national discontent that had been brewing up since the last part of the 19th century. Administrative questions featured largely as causes of the movement.

The one way traffic of literary academic education which had been creating the nightmare of unemployment of university graduates since the last years of the 19th century, had disillusioned the students and made them vulnerable to revivalism and extremism which had been growing in the out-of-school environment. In face of this avalanche the Govt wanted to clamp upon the students a 'God save the Queen' attitude to enforce disciplinarian loyalty. Just as the students were growingly becoming sensitive to national aspirations, so the Govt. were becoming sensitive of student discontent. Students' sensitiveness found explosive expression against Curzon's policy of high handed control.

The Triple Boycott call against the partition of Bengal drew the students into the arena of struggle. Mr. R. W. Carlyle, the acting Chief Secretary of the provincial Govt issued a circular calling upon the District Magistrates to punish boys for their participation in meetings, boycott and picketting. The District Magistrates in their turn issued circulars to Headmasters that (1) Aided schools would not tolerate any anti Govt activity of students. (2) The schools of offending students would forfeit Govt aids, offending students would forfeit their scholarship; and affiliation of schools of offending students would be cancelled. (3) The Headmaster of each school should prepare a list of offending students. (4) School managers and teachers would function as special police against students' 'offences'. This circular (issued

on the basis of the previous Carlyle Circular) came to be known as Anti Swadeshi Circular. Almost simultaneously Mr. Alexander Pedler (D. P. I.) issued a circular to college principals in similar language and terms.

Shortly after this, the Headmaster of Rangpur Govt School, under directions from the District Magistrate Mr. T. Emerson imposed a per capita fine of Rs. 5/- on the "offending" students and expelled many of them. The students revolted and parents rallied behind them, in protest against the high handed, bureaucratic and persecuting administration of education. The outcome was the Rangpur National School founded and maintained by the public, the first of its kind in Bengal.

The affair of Rangpur was a signal for wider action. The Head Master of Madaripur School defied the persecuting orders of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Governor of the newly created province of East Bengal. The jubilant students brought out a victory procession.

The older people particularly the leaders of Extremism advanced with the current of popular fury. When the A. D. P. I. (Bengal) Mr. Russel levelled a charge that the college students of Calcutta lived an immoral life in their hostels and community residences, the elder people instituted an enquiry and declared in public that Russel's charge was an incontrovertible lie used for character assassination.

The end-product of these cross-currents was the National Council of Education and also the National College. The obvious fact should be noted in particular that while the national education movement was a sequel to discontent against aims, curricula and methods of a colonial pattern of education, it was equally a sequel to discontent against bureaucratic administration. It was a conflict between disciplinary loyalty and freedom of pupils, viewed from the administrative angle.

The National Council of Education, however, failed to deliver the desired goods. It introduced some new elements in the curricula. But these did not constitute a total departure from officialised education. In the field of administration also it failed to introduce a worthy novelty. Willy nilly it moved on the tradi-

tional groove. It introduced a system of external examinations and publications of results almost in the traditional pattern. It introduced a system of grant in aid. An inspectorate was thought of. This did not materialise for paucity of funds. (In fact, respectable donations had poured in under the first flash of enthusiasm and regular inflow of funds dwindled with the progress of time). Members of the Council themselves inspected the schools to determine eligibility for grants. Moreover, grants were sanctioned mainly for secondary schools, and the national primary schools continued to starve as did the primary schools under official administration.

The effect of another type of national inspiration in education was more fruitfully and positively exhibited in the administration of University Education particularly in Calcutta University under Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee. (This we shall discuss in a latter chapter on The Administration of University Education.)

* * *

The national education movement gradually waned and actually came to an end in 1910. This result was partly brought about by the introduction of the Morley Minto constitutional reforms of 1909. The reform granted some concessions in the form of partial recognition of elective principles (although of a minor nature); but at the same time it infused a communal element to facilitate the Divide and Rule policy.

Moreover, by a royal declaration at Delhi Durbar (1911), the partition of Bengal was annulled.

Although the national education movement waned, its impact was now felt in the official system of educational administration. Indianisation of educational administration and the passing of education acts to fulfil national interests were the two simultaneous aspects of the movement. Gokhale's Primary Education Bill in the Imperial Legislature may be mentioned in this connection. The Govt. defeated the Bill on the plea of financial difficulty and administrative problems. The case of primary education, however, could not be totally ignored. A special lump grant for primary education was announced at the Delhi Durbar. This was an administrative echo of the national education movement. (Details of Gokhale's Bill will be discussed in a subsequent part when

we consider the evolution of the administration of primary education.)

* * *

During the first world war, the leaders of the national movement agreed to co operate with the Govt's war efforts on condition of favourable consideration of India's demands in post war days. But, as the war drew towards its end, it became evident that the Govt would go back upon its word of assurance. Mrs Annie Besant and B. G. Tilak started the Home Rule movement. Congress and Muslim League signed the Lucknow Pact of 1916 to present a common front before the Govt. Discontent was brewing.

With the object of forestalling the storm, the Govt hastily adopted some administrative measures with the object of diverting and pacifying public opinion. Directives were sent to the provincial Govts to draw up plans for the expansion of primary education, including plans for compulsion. Hasty reminders were sent from Delhi to whip up the provincial administration. This explains why the provincial primary education acts were passed comparatively smoothly between 1918 and 1921 (even before the Montford reforms were actually implemented.)

All these constituted the effect of the national movement and a distant effect of the national education movement upon Govt administration.

The Real Beginning of Decentralisation

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 strengthened the elective element and provided for responsible ministries in the provinces subject to limitations. *Education became a provincial subject.*

The said reforms also introduced the notorious system of Diarchy. Provincial subjects were enlisted under two categories. One category of subjects was reserved for the Governors and controlled by Executive Councillors responsible to the Governor. Such subjects were called 'reserved subjects.' As against this, some other subjects were transferred to the jurisdiction of Indian ministers. These were called "transferred" subjects. Mr. Montagu declared, "The guiding principle should be to include in the transferred list those departments which offered most opportunity

for local knowledge and social service, those in which Indians have shown themselves to be keenly interested....'

How much to reserve and how much to transfer? Bengal wanted collegiate and Europeans' education in the reserved list. Bihar, Orissa, Panjab and Assam favoured reservation of higher education, and U. P. wanted transference of the whole subject.

Reserved List Ultimately, *educational administration was almost wholly transferred to Indian Ministers in the provinces, subject to reservations viz* (i) Benares Hindu University and other institutions of all India character that might be declared 'all India' by the Governor-General in Council. (ii) College of Chiefs and Institutions maintained for 'service' and other personnel. (3) Education of Anglo-Indians became a reserved subject at Provincial level. The Central Govt. retained the authority to (a) legislate on establishment, constitution and functions of new universities, (b) to delimitate the jurisdiction of a university outside its own province, (c) tackle the question of Calcutta University and (d) reorganisation of secondary education consequent upon the report of the Sadler Commission (for a period of 5 years)

Load Shedding by Central Govt.

Education had started to be considered as a provincial subject since 1870. Yet the Govt of India showed keen interest. particularly during the administration of Curzon and a few years thereafter. The reforms of 1919 made it not only a provincial but also a 'transferred' subject. By shifting the burden to other shoulders, the Govt of India ceased to play any part other than the publication of Quinquennial Reports. Some central organs being considered necessary, the C. A. B. E. was established in 1920 (for co-ordination and expert advice). On the ground of economy, not only was the C. A. B. E. abolished in 1923, but also the Central Department of Education was amalgamated with other minor departments. This state of affairs was characterised by the Hartog Committee as "unfortunate divorce". Hence the C. A. B. E. was reinstated in 1935.

The reforms of 1919 had a considerable element of communal tinge. This was reflected in the field of secondary education. Special

institutions, reservation of accommodations in Govt institutions, awards of scholarships and free studentships on communal basis, preferential recruitment in Govt services were some of the features of administration after 1921. Attempts were made by different communities to organise funds. Similar attempts were made also by philanthropic and social organisations.

The Dept's role in primary education during this period was not commendable. Under the impact of national consciousness and the first world war a positive attitude to primary education was reflected in the passing of *a series of primary education acts* starting with the Bombay act of 1918, much before the implementation of the Montford Reforms of 1919, and continuing upto 1930. These acts entrusted the local self-governing authorities with the responsibility of introducing compulsory education. Just as the Central Govt made itself aloof after making education a provincial and transferred subject, so did the Provincial Govts play an insignificant role in Primary education after transferring the onus to local bodies.

Hartog Committee drew attention to this excessive decentralisation which even was not properly exercised. The committee opined that the Department should be strengthened and some powers which had been given to the local self governing bodies should be retransferred to the Dept. Ministerial responsibility must not be reduced. But, even if the Provincial Govt had powers, it might do little, because of inadequacy of financial resources. There was hopeless inadequacy of inspecting staff too.

Another anomaly developed during this period. On the one hand provincial ministers responsible to the legislature began to tackle the "transferred subjects", and on the other hand the superior servants belonging to the I.E.S. were responsible only to the Governor General and the Secretary of State. This caused the appointment of the Lee Commission (Royal Commission on Superior Civil Services in India, 1923-24) which advised *discontinuation of the I.E.S. and institution of a Provincial Class I Service*. Extinction of I.E.S. was decided,

but institution of Provincial Service was delayed. The Hartog Committee again drew attention to this state. By 1936-37, however, Class I services were instituted (with the exception of Madras and North-West Frontier province).

The period of diarchy had some achievements to its credit In pursuance of the recommendations of Sadler Commission, the Inter-University Board was instituted and inter-varsity or inter-collegiate programmes launched. By various acts of amendment, the administration of Universities was considerably democratised. specially the numbers of elected seats on the Senates were increased. A heavy crop of primary education acts was an achievement of this period. And provincial administration of education was practically Indianised.

Difficulties, however, were many. The National Congress had rejected the reforms of 1919. But for a temporary move by the Swarajya Party, the Congress kept out of office for the whole period between 1921 and 1936. Moreover, *this period* witnessed two mighty upsurges, (i) the Non-Co-operation—Khilafat movement of 1921-22 and 2) the Civil Disobedience Movement 1930-32. This period also witnessed two other developments—(i) Communal bickerings including occasional riots and (ii) Revolutionary movement and student upsurge. The Congress, the most representative organisation having rejected the Montford Reforms and election, the ministers could not command mass support. They had to depend upon the I.E.S. who in their turn showed lack of co-operation.

The helplessness of Ministers was very prominently expressed in matters of Finance. Education was made primarily a provincial subject. The Central Govt took the least of interest. Central Grants did not flow.

A more awkward situation arose. Education was made a transferred subject under control of elected ministers. It did obviously rouse mass expectations. But finance remained a Reserved subject. Hence the minister for education had to suffer rebuffs from the secretary for finance. Peoples' expectations could not be fulfilled, and the ministers were ridiculed. Conflict between Bureaucracy and

Conflicts in
administration

Nationalism continued to be a persistent feature of the period. The conflict ended with the introduction of Provincial Autonomy and liquidation of the I.E.S.

The whole period under the Montford reform was a period of economic depression. The post war slump set in as early as 1918 and continued unabated till 1924 when the economy began to look up. But even before the economy became toned up, the great crash of 1929—32 told heavily upon the Indian people, particularly the agrarian producers. Schemes were made for the expansion of primary education but all the schemes were scuttled by financial stringency. The Biss scheme and the Azizul Haque scheme failed in this fashion.

In spite of the meagre powers and privileges transferred to Indian Ministers, the bureaucracy was quick to pick a quarrel with Indian initiators and leaders. The conflict between Ashutosh Mukherjee and the Bengal Govt represented by P.C. Mitra, minister of education, may be cited for example. As against Ashutosh's policy of expansion of education, the education minister's insistence upon conditional grant let loose an intensive campaign.

Educational Administration Under Provincial Autonomy

It became evident before long that the Reforms of 1919, which failed to satisfy nationalist aspirations, could not continue for long. On the basis of recommendations of the Simon Commission, the British Govt. held Round Table Conferences. In spite of Congress intransigence, the Govt. of India Act of 1935 was passed with a heavy dose of communal separatism. The basic feature of the new reforms was Provincial Autonomy in an Indian Federation. The Federal scheme, as drawn up by the Act, was rejected by the nation. A system of provincial autonomy was, however, introduced and elections held in 1937. The Congress protested against extraordinary veto powers concentrated in the hands of the Governor General and the Governors of provinces. On the assurance of non-interference of Governors in the normal administration of provinces by elected ministers, the Congress formed ministries in 7 provinces and non-Congress ministries were formed in 4 provinces.

Educational administration under the Act of 1935 was divided into two categories :—(1) The Federal (Central) list included (a

maintenance and control of the Imperial Library, The Indian Museum, The Imperial War Museum, The Victoria Memorial or any similar institution controlled or financed by the Central powers Central Govt. : (b) Education of the Defence forces, (c) administration of Benaras Hindu University and Aligarh Muslim University, (d) Preservation of ancient and historical monuments, (e) Archaeology, (f) Education in centrally administered areas etc. (2) *The provincial list included all other matters related with education.* Within the province, the division between reserved and transferred subjects was abolished. Even Anglo-Indian and European education was no longer reserved. The special powers of the Governor acted as guarantee of the minority interest

The Provincial Ministries began working in right earnest. *The Basic Education Scheme* was evolved between 1937 and 1940. A non-official *National Planning Committee* was instituted in 1938 (Educational Planning became one of its functions). Popular ministries discovered the basic weakness and gaping wounds in the system of education and its administration. The system of education and its administration was found too heavy. More scientifically it might be said to have been weak-based. The ministries, therefore, drew up *plans for adult literacy and extensive primary education.* A trend of thought developed that the powers given to local bodies were not properly utilised. The powers were to some extent curtailed, as in Bombay, by the Primary Education (Amendment) Act of 1938.

But no sooner had the popular ministries been firmly saddled and begun functioning than the second world war submerged the entire political system into a doldrum. The Congress ministries resigned and the other ministries were yoked to the dictates of the Centre. The August upsurge and the subsequent mass movements till 1947 did not allow any further administrative innovations. Larger Central Govt. grants, however, were made to university education, particularly for those subjects which were directly or indirectly connected with war efforts.

Thoughts of the future, however, began to find shape in these days. On the one hand, the non-official All India Education

Conference tried to chalk out a programme. On the other hand the C A B E produced the plan for Post War Educational Reconstruction (Sargent Plan). With the formation of the Interim Govt. in 1946, the Central Department of Education came under nationalist control. And ultimately a full fledged ministry was instituted in 1947. Even before the formal inauguration of 5 year plans, the Govt. of India made a primary draft for a 5 year education plan just as post war provincial govts prepared their 5 year plans.

The "Constitution" of the Republic of India was introduced on 26th January 1950. Educational administration was placed on the basis of the provisions of the new Constitution.

Educational Administration Since 1950

India adopted a federal type administration. The three levels of the three tier administration are Federal or Union i.e. Central, the State and the Local. Educational responsibility is directly and indirectly shared by authorities at all the three levels. Obviously *all these authorities take share in educational administration*.

The Union Govt. has a 11% Education —

The role of the Central Govt. in the administration of Education had *passed through ups and downs in course of a 100 years*. In 1957 the Central Department of Education had been initiated as an

Retrospect education branch of the Home Dept. The Director

General of Education appointed in 1901 was attached to the Home Dept. An independent department was started in 1910, under a member of the Governor General's Executive Council. Simultaneously, however, the office of the Director General was abolished. During war years, the office of Director General was revived with a different title of Educational Commissioner, and a Bureau of Education was constructed, both in 1915. The duty of the latter was to conduct surveys, gather information and compile reports.

Till 1919, the chief duty of the Govt. of India was policy-making. The reforms of 1919 made education a "transferred" provincial subject. Hence the responsibility of the Central Govt. dwindled. The need for central co-ordination being felt, the C. A. B. E. was

instituted in 1921. On grounds of economy, it was abolished in 1923. The Bureau of Education was also ended and the independent integrity of the Department of Education was sacrificed by amalgamating it with the Dept of Health, Land & Agriculture.

Such an apathetical attitude of the Central Govt. could not continue for long. The C A B E was revived in 1935 and the Bureau in 1937. A few years later (1945), a separate Department of Education was again created. A full fledged Central Ministry came into being in 1947

Structure of Central Administration

The Central Ministry works with the help of an Educational Adviser (cum Secretary) There are seven Bureaus for different fields of education viz

- (i) Bureau of General education—to look after Primary Basic, Secondary and Higher Edn
- (ii) „ „ Technical Education and Science—to look after Scientific and Technical education.
- (iii) „ „ Language and Literature—conducts Book Promotion
- (iv) „ „ Scholarship and youth services—controls scholarship system both internal & external.
- (v) „ „ Planning and Co-ordination looks after statistics, information, Publication, Planning and N.C.E.R.T
- (vi) „ „ Cultural Activities
- (vii) „ „ Administration.

The National Council of Educational Research and Training (N.C.E.R.T.) was established as a specialised body in 1951. Its function is to break new ground in Curricular Science, Text Book writing, Technology and Methods of teaching etc. This body is directly controlled by the Ministry of Education and is responsible to it. At present it has 4 well organised divisions of research, and it conducts the National Institute of Education. This organisation has already taken rapid strides for a scientific appraisal of secondary education in India. Although not a university in the accepted sense of the term, the N.C.E.R.T. enjoys the status of a Central,

University. The N.C.E.R.T. is basically a research institution which feeds the educational authorities with data and suggestions. But education being a state subject, its *recommendations are not binding* upon the states. In practice, many of its recommendations are flouted by motivated state authorities.

The N. C. E. R. T. of which the central Minister of Education is the Chairman (although it has a Directorate of its own) was in 1961 given the following functions (i) To enquire into the state and problems of education in any of the states and in the territories of India, (ii) To improve the aims, curricula and methods of school education; (iii) To improve the techniques of instruction; (iv) To function as a Clearing House for dissemination, acquisition and supply of educational information and data.

Its major functions are—(i) Educational Research at both ordinary and advanced levels, (ii) Improvement of teaching methods and techniques, (iii) In-service teacher education (for which it has established and has been conducting four regional colleges of education).

The work of the N. C. E. R. T. is conducted through several major, minor and allied departments viz (i) Educational psychology and foundation of education; (ii) Social Sciences and Humanities; (iii) Curricula and Text Books; (iv) Teacher Education; (v) Administration and Evaluation, (vi) Teaching aids and Technology; (vii) Data processing and Survey, (viii) Social and field services, (ix) Library, Documentation, Information; (x) Pre-primary, Primary and Adult Education. It devotes energy towards universalisation of primary education.

The N. C. E. R. T. works on projects like.—(i) Educational technology programme (for which it has set up technology cells in many of the states); (ii) Multi-media package, (iii) Quality improvement programme, (iv) Text Book production (it has already produced a few good text books); (v) Non Formal Education.

In 1977 it had set up a 30 member Review Committee under the chairmanship of Sri Iswaribhai Patel, Vice Chancellor of Gujrat University, to review the curricula for 10 year school education, and to recommend steps for improvement. Subsequently another

Review Committee was set up under Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah, Vice-Chancellor of Madras University to review the curricula for +2 stage.

The multiple activities of the N. C. E. R. T. include National Science Exhibition, National Integration Project National Talent Search Programme etc. Much of its work is conducted through the National Institute of Education. Regional field offices also do a lot. The N. C. E. R. T. also conducts correspondence cum contact courses for freshers as well as refresher training of teachers. It also maintains a close link with the State Institutes of Education.

The N. C. E. R. T. publishes its own journals and research hand outs and books. Although the N. C. E. R. T. has already become a mighty organisation, much of its work is carried out through seminars and workshops of educational leaders of all parts of the land. It, thus, ensures the participation of experts in its projects and programmes.

The Union Ministry has a few *advisory or statutory bodies* attached to it viz. the C.A.B.E., the U.G.C., the All India Council of Technical Education : All India Councils of Elementary and Secondary Education : The National Board of *Advisory bodies* Basic Education (now almost defunct), Central Social Welfare Board ; Central Board of Sanskrit . National Board of Audio-visual Education : National Council for Women's Education ; National Council for Rural Higher Education (defunct) etc.

The Central Advisory Board of Education (C,A,B,E,) is composed of the Minister for Education, the Educational adviser, 15 members nominated by the Union Govt (4 women. 3 representatives of the C. A. B. E. Lower House and 2 of the Upper House of Parliament), 2 members of the Inter University Association, 2 members from the All India Council of Technical Education, one representative from each of the State Govts and the secretary of the Board.

The non-official members of the Board hold office for 3 years. The Board meets at least once a year. It formulates aims, assessments and plans for the next year. Throughout the year, the

Board works through 4 *standing committees* for Primary, Secondary, University & Social Education. There is one more standing committee to co-ordinate the work of these committees. Attached to the C.A.B.E. is a Central Bureau of Education which collects information and data and prepares reports on educational developments.

The Board's *recommendations are, however, not binding upon the States*. Acceptance is initiated through Education Ministers' Conference.

The functions of the Central Govt. are—determination of general policy, foreign cultural relations particularly with UNESCO, scholarships, co-ordination of the activities of the states, advice and information, conducting experiments, education in centrally administered areas, Central Universities and Central Schools, supervision of Public Schools, National Laboratories and various other educational institutions and research institutions. viz. I.I.Ts, English Institute, Institute of Sports, Book Trust, Physical Education College. And it also exercises indirect influence through the U. G. C. upon higher education.

The U. G. C. which had been brought into being in the days before independence, was made a powerful statutory body in the post independence days.

Maintenance and determination of standards in higher education has been a special responsibility of the Central Govt. While the responsibility for the whole country is discharged mainly through the University Grants Commission, a number of educational and research institutions in the field of higher education have come into being under Central auspices through the years of independence. They are (i) Central Universities viz. Aligarh Muslim University, Banaras Hindu University, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi University, Viswa Bharati, North Eastern Hills University, Hyderabad University, (ii) National Staff College for Educational Planners and Administrators, New Delhi; (iii) Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla; (iv) Sastri Indo Canadian Institute, New Delhi; (v) Indian Council of Social Sciences Research, New Delhi; (vi) Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi.

The U. G. C. also grants handsome aids to Institutions deemed to be Universities viz. (i) Gurukul Kangri Viswavidyalaya. Haridwar ; (ii) Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmadabad ; (iii) Gandhigram Rural Institute, Gandhigram etc.

The Central Ministry of Education also conducts bilateral foreign collaboration programme through (i) Indo Canadian Institute as mentioned earlier , (ii) Indo-U. S. S. R. Cultural Exchange Programme ; (iii) United States educational foundation in India etc. A regular link is maintained with the U. N. E. S. C. O.

Other avenues of Central Govt's functions include (i) The Indian Institutes of Technology (ii) The Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore ; (iii) National Book Trust (founded in 1957) ; (iv) Raja Rammohan Roy National Educational Resources Centre ; (a) Youth services through an All India Council of Sports, (b) Luxmibai National College of Physical Education, Gwalior , (c) Central Institute of Languages, Hyderabad, (d) Rastriya Sanskrit Sansthan, (e) National Board and Directorate of Adult Education

Education in the Union Territories is conducted directly by the Central Ministry. Coordination of work in the non-union territories is conducted through the Association of Indian Universities and Conference of Education Ministers.

The State Govt. vis-a-vis Education :—

Education had been a provincial subject since 1921 with two qualifications—advance research and technical education. The Constitution of free India also made education a state subject. The state enjoys autonomy except in those matters for which central grants are received. Primary and Secondary education is almost under absolute state control.

The state administration is conducted by the Minister of Education (with the departmental secretary, and the D.P.I. as permanent head of the Dept. and technical expert with his Inspectorate. The State Dept. of Education administers every branch of education (certain forms of technical education are under other departments). In the matter of higher education the state govt shares powers with the universities and the U.G.C. In the matter of primary education, the Govt delegates powers to the Local Bodies. In the matter of Secondary Education, most of the states have Statutory Boards.

The State vis-a-vis primary Education :—

In the administration of primary education, the state govt, as said earlier, shares powers with the local self-governing bodies at District, Municipal or town level. It had been observed in 1919, "There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies, and the largest possible independence for them of outside control." This principle has been further developed under the present constitution. Local School Boards support and manage, recognise and aid, appoint and maintain staff. State laws are their source of power. The Balwantrai Mehta Committee advised further decentralisation, and *organisation of local administration at three levels*—Zilla Parishad, Panchayat Samity and Block Panchayat under overall state control. There are wide variations between states, and conditions of flux prevail in some states, as in West Bengal.

CHAPTER IV

Administration of Primary Education

Elementary education had existed since when man had begun to institutionalise education. Recognition of such education as a *distinctive 'stage'* of education in a man's life was a later phenomenon. Primary education of the recognised indigenous type existed in India since the mediaeval days. The Pathshala and the Maktab were the standard institutions of primary education. These schools had not been integrated with the schools of higher learning. Evidently, these were schools of the masses.

Indian monarchs, both Hindu and Muslim, were great patrons of learning. But their patronage favoured only higher intellectual education. The ordinary man of the traditional rural society was the real patron of the Pathshala and the Maktab. These schools actually belonged to the teacher who secured accommodation, admitted pupils, drew up the school time table and calendar to suit his advantage or that

of the local community. *There was neither any State Patronage, nor any state control.*

Socio-economic decadence of the 18th Century naturally hit these institutions the hardest. Surveys conducted in Madras, Bombay and Bengal in the 1st half of the 19th Century threw light on the state of decadence. Yet Rev. Adam opined that these schools might form the foundation of a future system of education. He, therefore, *made elaborate recommendations for administrative nourishment of the primary schools.* Apart from suggestions for academic and qualitative improvement, Rev Adam made very important

Conscious	suggestions for administrative improvement viz-
neglect	financial grants from the Govt, Govt responsibility for teacher education, publication of text books, conducting examinations, holding inspections and appointment of District Officers to act on behalf of the Govt. But Lord Macaulay and Lord Bentinck had already decided to favour English Education. Adoption of the downward filtration theory further militated against the recognition of primary education as responsibility of the state.

Shift in Administrative Policy

The *Despatch of 1854 reversed the previous policy* to the extent of recommending (i) incorporation of the indigenous elementary schools in the total state system, (ii) larger expenditure for primary education, (iii) regular grant-in aid system etc. This position was further changed by the Stanley Despatch of 1859 in as much as that it recommended the *levy of local rates*, and establishment of more schools directly by the Govt.

From 1859 to 1882, *there were two opinions* in regard to provision and administration of primary education. One school favoured the continuance of voluntary efforts, while the other favoured the establishment of public schools maintained by ad hoc bodies set up by the Govt. Different developments, therefore, occurred in different provinces. In Bengal, by the year 1882, there were only 28 departmental schools as against 4737 aided and 3265 unaided indigenous schools.

The golden touch of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar had given a fresh impetus to the cause of primary education. A system of

Govt inspection had been established. As an inspecting personnel he took a direct hand in the administration of primary education.

1882 And After

The real beginning of modern primary education in India was heralded by the recommendations of the Education Commission (1882). The *Commission placed emphasis upon efforts of the state. Simultaneously it recommended that the control of primary education should be made over to District and Municipal Boards.* There should be no attempt to achieve uniformity of standards in all the provinces. The school managers should be free to choose the text books for their schools. A specific fund should be created for primary education. Funds for primary education in Municipal areas could be separated from the same for rural areas. Local funds should be utilised mainly for primary education. It should be a duty of the Govt to subsidise the local funds by a suitable system of grant in-aid to the extent of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total expenditure. All these recommendations however lost much of their value when the Commission recommended a system of *Payment by results.*

In spite of these weaknesses, the fact remains that the administration of primary education was decentralised and local control was established. There is of course no denying that adequate resources were not available. And whenever additional funds were available, they were grabbed by secondary and higher education and primary education had to starve.

Yet, from the point of view of educational administration, this was of great value that primary education was declared to be an *obligatory duty of Local Boards and Municipal Boards.* Although secondary & higher education was not kept out of their bounds, their first duty was towards primary education. In some provinces, rules were framed to determine the minimum percentage of its income which a local body ought to devote to education. Such rules as well as the *extent of the transference of control varied from province to province.*

Curzon's Policy

Lord Curzon's administration pursued a general policy of qualitative improvement through administrative control. But *the*

field of primary education was spared. Large non-recurring and recurring grants from the Central Govt. enabled the provincial Govts to increase their grants to local bodies from $\frac{1}{3}$ of the expenditure to $\frac{1}{2}$. From 1882 to 1902, the system of "result grants" had been in vogue. Result grant in U. P., Panjab, C. P., Assam etc. was part of annual grant. In Madras and Bombay, there were fixed grants, although fixed grant schools were a few. Bengal had a system of result grant. Curzon's administration *abandoned the system of payment by results.* Although efficiency was Lord Curzon's battle cry, the authority of local bodies was not substantially curtailed. But the responsibility and initiative of the state was much increased.

Impact of National Education Movement

The National Education Movement influenced our educational thoughts. Gokhale's Primary Education Bill of 1910 demanded free and compulsory primary education in India and a committee of officials and non-officials was to draw up plans. The mover withdrew the motion upon assurance from Govt. that the matter was receiving Govt's attention. The motion was however held up for a year. Gokhale moved his bill again in 1911, demanding better provision for expansion of primary education. In the meantime the Congress session at Allahabad and League session at Nagpur (both in 1910) demanded free and compulsory primary education. Gokhale's demand for compulsion was of a *permissive nature*. Compulsion might be introduced in areas where 33% children of the concerned age group were already in school. It might be introduced in selected areas under initiative of local self governing bodies. Parents would stand responsible for sending children to school. There would be no fees if parent's income did not exceed Rs 10/ a month. Local cess might be imposed to meet the expenses. Govt subsidy should cover $\frac{2}{3}$. Only boys of 6-10 year group would be brought under compulsion. Any plan of local bodies would be subject to sanction of the provincial Govt. and the local body would issue prior notification for compulsion. The Bill was debated for two days in March 1912. Even this liberal Bill was defeated in the Central Assembly.

But the Govt. could not sit tight. With the creation of the Central Department of Education, the activities of the Govt. were also accelerated. The Coronation Grant of Rs. 50 lakh for primary education in particular was, however, no administrative measure. It was a compromise measure to woo Indian public opinion which was grievously hurt by the uncourteous attitude to Gokhale Bill.

Primary Education Acts

But the impact of the first world war was not late to be felt. The movement for primary education shifted from the centre to the provinces. It became possible to pass a series of primary education acts in the different provincial legislatures between 1918 and 1930. Public opinion could be concentratedly reflected more upon the provincial assemblies than upon the Central assembly. The following is the series :

1918 Bombay Pr. Edn. Act	for compulsion in municipal areas (for boys in the first instance)
1919 Punjab	for boys, urban & rural
„ U. P.	boys & girls
„ Bengal	(Municipal)
(1923 amendment extended to girls)	
„ Bihar & Orissa	boys, urban & rural
1920 City of Bombay	boys & girls in
„ C. P.	Bombay City
1923 Madras El. Edn,	„ Rural & Urban
1923 Bombay Pr. Edn. Act	„ whole Province
1926 Assam	„ urban & rural
„ U. P. Dt. Boards Pr. Edn. Act	„ Rural only
1930 Bengal Rural Pr. Edn. Act	„ Rural only
	amended in 1932

Thus the meagre legislative advantages given by the Morley-Minto Reforms were put to productive use. The scope was further widened after the implementation of Montford Reforms and the 'legislature policy' of the Swarajya Party founded by C. R. Das.

These Acts transferred large powers to local authorities. They were asked to provide primary education. The duty of the

local authority was to study needs and prepare schemes. The initiative to introduce compulsion was left with the local bodies who were nearest to, the people. They were given powers to levy education cess. The Govt undertook to assist the local bodies. The age of compulsion differed from Province to Province—6 to 10 or 6 to 11 or 7 to 11. Almost all the Acts included specific enforcement clauses. And most of them prohibited child labour. The constitution of local self govt bodies was liberalised and they were vested with additional powers of taxation.

The Montford reforms had *made education a provincial 'transfered' subject*. Attention of the Central Govt practically dwindled inspite of finance being a 'reserved' subject, the Indian Ministers for education did the best of the situation. Expansion and increased expenditure went hand in hand. Total direct expenditure on Primary Education increased in the following order—

1921-22 = Rs. 49469080	1931-32 = Rs. 78795236
1926-27 = Rs. 67514802	1936-37 = Rs. 81338015

But there is no denying the fact that *attention was paid more to the urban areas and enforcement was practically not attempted at all*. In 1936-37, only 167 urban areas & 3034 rural areas (13072 villages) of India could be brought under compulsion. The Hartog Committee drew attention to the problems of rural and backward areas, caste and other barriers and unsatisfactory distribution of schools. It condemned hasty expansion and recommended consolidation and improvement. The committee drew attention to the *problem of wastage and stagnation and thereby added one more item to our list of administrative problems*. The committee also thought that there had been excessive devolution of authority. Primary education being a matter of national importance, the government should assume necessary powers to control and improve the administration of primary education.

No basic change was made in the pattern of administration of primary education under *Provincial Autonomy*, with the exception of some amendment acts passed in various legislatures, and the introduction of the *Basic Scheme of Education*.

After Independence

In the Three Tier system of educational administration in free India, the lowest tier formed by the local authorities was entrusted with the administration of primary education. Such authorities are organised at District, Municipal, Cantonment, Town or other levels. It had been said in 1919, that, 'there should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control.' *The constitution of 1950 did not reverse this tradition.* Local Boards, particularly *School Board* at District level now supported and managed, recognised and aided, planned and established primary schools and maintained their staff.

The Balwantrai Mehta Committee, which studied the problems of administration, opined that the District is too big an area to be suited for effective administration of primary education which called for close mass contact and practical connection with realities. The committee suggested a *block-levelled administration under Panchayat Samiti* which will indirectly be elected by village panchayats. At the district level, there may be a Zilla Parishad as a co-ordinating body with powers to approve the annual budgets of Panchayat Samities and forward to Govt the demand for grants for the Zilla as a whole and to distribute the grants when received. It was claimed that construction of school buildings, supervision of schools, supply of equipment, mobilisation of public support etc. might better be done at the block level which is closer to the people.

Mehra
Committee's
Views

The Present Pattern of Administration

Most states of India now, have a Three Tier administration of primary education—the Village Panchayat, the Panchayat Samity—and the Zilla Parishad. Two major sources of finance are local rates and state subsidy. Some of the states have comprehensive Primary Education Acts for the whole state. Some others still cling to the pre-independence legislations with slight changes made to them.

The constitution of free India made *education a state subject*

with listed reservations. But the same constitution specifically directed that universal compulsory primary education must be achieved within a specified time period. The Govt of India cannot but be morally responsible for the implementation of the said directive. Equality of educational opportunity and common school ideals have been accepted as a 'matter of principle.' *The Central Govt cannot, therefore, withdraw itself from administrative responsibility.* That is why there is a Central Advisory Board and central organisations for Text Book research etc. The Central Govt comes forward with general and special allotments of planned money to foster the cause of primary education. But excepting the centrally administered territories, the Central Govt is nowhere directly responsible for management, administration and control of primary schools.

Primary education is distinctively a state subject. The state machine is headed by the department of education — the D. P. I. and the Inspectorate. In some of the states, there are Primary Education Boards. Finances come from cess and other specific taxes, ordinary (annual) revenue budget and planned budgets.

Decentralisation of administration made the District, Tehsil, Town and Panchayat level organisations directly responsible for administration. There are variations from state to state in respect of their constitution, powers, functions, resources, and relationships with the State Dept of Education.

West Bengal's Case

Administration of Primary education in Bengal since when decentralisation had been initiated, was determined by a series of Acts, viz—The Local Self-Govt Act (Education) of 1884, The Bengal Primary Education Act of 1919 (with the Amending Act of 1923). The Bengal Rural Primary Education Act of 1930 (amendment 1932). After Independence two more Acts were added e.g. the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1951 and the Urban Primary Education Act of 1963. In spite of this series of Acts, the local bodies could not be actually endowed with powers to introduce compulsion.

The question of compulsion was infested with many problems— (a) better utilisation of existing schools, (b) more equitable distribution of resources with a view to providing one school a village, (c) more provision of books, papers, school tiffin and medical benefit, (d) more teachers and better teacher training, (e) proper teaching aids, (f) rigid enforcement of the laws against child labour. (It may be mentioned that the latest figures show that 47% of primary age group children in India are earners as labourers), (g) compensatory devices to inspire parents to spare the children.

Most important, however, was social motivation by convincing the parents of the worthwhileness of education. The holding power of schools must be increased. A thorough revision of the curriculum and infusion of homely atmosphere in school is a must in any case. Let us see what attempts were made

The Act of 1919

The Bengal Primary Education Act of 1919 was meant for municipal areas. It might gradually be applicable also in Union Board areas if the Govt found it feasible. It required that within a year after promulgation of the Act, the municipalities would prepare reports on (i) the number of children in the 6—10 age group, (ii) existing intake capacities of schools and percentage of attendance, (iii) needs for buildings, teachers etc, (iv) need for expansion, (v) grants necessary etc. Subject to approval of the Provincial Govt, the *municipalities might introduce compulsion for boys*. They might form School Committees and draw-up attendance laws. Primary education was not declared generally 'free', but special provisions might be made for children of incapable parents. The municipalities might apply to the Provincial Govt for permission to levy an education tax.

The Bengal Rural Self-Govt Act of 1919 brought the Union Boards into being. With the formation of Union Boards, it was declared that these bodies also might move on lines chalked out for municipalities.

But the whole period of diarchy was marked by a war of words

and bargains between the Central Govt and the provincial Govt and between the provincial Govt and local self governing bodies.

Detailed schemes for expansion of primary education were framed by Mr. Dunn. But nothing materialised in practice. The Meston Committee formed to consider the question of financial implications of the Reform Act of 1919 not only failed to bring a ray of hope, but even recommended financial measures which were tantamount to negation of the question of universal and compulsory primary education.

Schemes were also drawn up by Mr. Biss who was appointed special officer for the department of education. The Biss school also met with paltry success and it foundered on the rock of financial provisions.

Further schemes were made by the Govt when Sir Azizul Haque became minister for education in the province of Bengal. The Hartog Committee also simultaneously submitted its report and recommendations.

But several features came out prominently, viz

(a) The central Govt refused to shoulder any financial burden that compulsion might cause. Very often it referred the proposals to the Secretary of State for India seeking his endorsement and authority to spend. (b) The central Govt all through refused to come out to help provincial Govt. (c) The provincial Govt banked everything upon additional taxation to create resources. (d) The local bodies persistently refused to make extra levies. (e) The nationalist press consistently clamoured that heavily taxed people must not be further taxed. Instead they demanded curtailment of expenses in other fields (particularly police) and diversion of the saved resources to the channel of primary education. (f) The Govt persistently urged that compulsion should follow free education and that in its turn should follow the provision of schools.

The ice began to melt only when the Calcutta Corporation under the impact of the national movement decided to go it alone, even without sufficient matching grants under capital or recurring heads.

On the whole, the years of diarchy were years of financial wrangling.

The Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act, 1930

This Act envisaged compulsory primary education for 6—11 age group in a ten year period. For fulfilment of this objective, the Act provided for the *establishment of District School Boards*, the personnel of which were (1) the District Magistrate, (2) the Sub-Divisional Officers, (3) the District Inspector of Schools, (4) Chairman and Vice Chairman of District Board, (5) Chairmen of Local Boards, (6) Elected non-official members, at least two elected by members of District Board, at least 2 elected by members of Union Boards, (7) only one elected primary school teacher. (8) at least two nominated non official members.

The specified duties of the District School Board were (a) planning, (b) expanding, (c) providing and (d) managing primary education together with (i) appointment of teachers, (ii) drawing salary schedules, (iii) according recognition to Schools, (iv) granting aids and (v) looking after provident fund and annuity etc.

The Act also *provided for Education Cess* at the rate of 5 paise per rupee of land revenue ($3\frac{1}{2}$ paise payable by the ryot. $1\frac{1}{2}$ paise by landowner). No cess was levied upon wage earners and professional people. The District Magistrate was given the power to levy cess in their case too, if he felt it proper. The provincial govt remained responsible for expenses incurred in the training of teachers and the maintenance of the Inspectorate.

The Act of 1930 *Provided also for a Provincial Education Committee* composed of the D. P. I., 2 members (one Hindu and one Muslim elected by members of the District School Boards in each of the 5 Divisions of the province, and 5 nominated members (of which two were to be members of the scheduled castes). This Committee was given the authority to control and supersede District School Boards, order devolution of authority down to the Union Board and Panchayat, look after curricular pattern and measures of compulsion.

Although theoretically autonomous, the District School Boards were completely governmentalised and packed with henchmen as will be evident from the list of personnel. It was useless to hope for anything great from such bodies. Moreover, they became circles of corruption and vested interest.

After the formation of West Bengal, municipal acts were amended with the object of streamlining the administration of primary education within municipal areas. And lastly, the West Bengal Urban Primary Education Act was passed in 1963. This act directed the municipal bodies to introduce free and compulsory primary education. They were permitted to levy an education cess. The Act also asked the municipalities to survey the conditions and needs and also the extent of subsidy required. Matching state subsidy was promised. *Very little has, however, been done.*

*The Present System of Administration in W. Bengal. :—*West Bengal has multiple types of primary schools. In the urban areas there are (i) municipal free primary schools (ii) Biss scheme schools in some industrial areas, (iii) sponsored free primary (originally started for refugees), (iv) Junior Basic, (v) fee-receiving or aided primary school/K. G. (vi) primary sections of high schools, (vii) primary schools attached to high schools, (viii) privately owned and controlled schools.

In the rural areas, there are (i) D. S. Board schools, (ii) special cadre schools, (iii) 5 class Junior Basic, (iv) "Improved" primary (only Headmaster need be trained), (v) Biss scheme schools, (vi) 2 teacher schools (managed with central aid), (vii) single teacher school (as per plan from 1957), (viii) Primary sections of High Schools, (ix) sponsored schools, (x) Trust Schools, (xi) Profit making private schools.

Multiplicity of Schools has made the financing system cumbrous. The general sources of finance are—(i) specific Central Grants as per plans, (ii) Expenditure under state plan, (iii) regular revenue budget, (iv) Local funds, (v) Education cess, (vi) Trust endowments and donations, (vii) Individual investments, (viii) Tuition fees (in fee-receiving institutions).

The system of financing is not uniform. There are separate

channels for Govt free primary schools, School Board Schools, Deficit grant schools, privately maintained schools etc.

The Present Pattern of Administration

Primary education is unequivocally a state subject. Administration at the State level is conducted by the Minister for Education with the Secretary/Commissioner, through the Department of Education topped by the D. P.I. (the post of a full-fledged Director of Primary Education has recently been created), helped by the D. D. P. I. the District Inspectors of Primary Schools, Assistant Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors. The department controls govt efforts in corporation, municipal and rural areas, through its own agencies.

The *Calcutta Corporation* has its own school department headed by the Chief Education Officer who is helped by an inspectorate of the Corporation. A separate salary schedule is maintained and expenses are annually budgeted. The *other municipal bodies* also establish and control their own schools and pay salaries from budgeted expenditure. Formation of an "education committee" is the normal practice.

In the *rural areas*, the District School Board establishes and aids the schools, controls the appointment and transference of teachers. For the present, however, the District School Boards have been kept out of commission. Ad hoc administration is the present practice.

Much depends upon efficient supervision of primary schools. But the *Inspectorate in West Bengal is poorly staffed*. There is one inspector for a Block, charged with the duty of inspecting 100 to 150 primary schools. Overburdened with immense paper work and numbers of schools, the Inspector can seldom perform his actual duty.

Administration of Primary Education in West Bengal may be improved if (i) a comprehensive primary education act replaces the multiple partial acts, (ii) an effective State Board is formed by statute, (iii) District and Block Boards (under the State Board) are reconstituted on a more democratic basis, (iv) the Inspectorate is strengthened and properly motivated, (v) Democratic school com-

mittees and joint parent-teacher councils are formed. and (vi) every primary school forms its own teachers' council with effective rights and duties.

State Primary Education Act

The West Bengal Primary Education Act for the whole of the State was passed in 1973. It provided for the formation of *The West Bengal Board of Primary Education*. It would consist of a D. D. P. I. two teachers of Junior Training Colleges, eight teachers of primary schools, one Councillor of Calcutta Corporation, four Commissioners of Municipalities three representatives of Zilla Parishads, some elected M. L. A.s, 12 persons interested in Education. All these members would be elected from the different categories and would enjoy a 4 year term. (Some members would however, be nominated). The President and the Vice President of the Board would be salaried officers. The Board as a whole would look after conduct, discipline, transference & appeals of teaching and non-teaching staff. *The Board should form a few Committees viz. Curriculum Committee, Evaluation Committee, Development Committee and Finance Committee.*

At the second level of administration there would be *District Primary School Councils*. Each District Council would consist of the District Inspector of Primary Education, the District Special Officer for Scheduled Castes and Tribes Welfare, The District Social Education Officer, elected representatives of Anchal Panchayats, elected members of Zilla Parishad, a teacher of Junior Training College, elected representatives of primary school teachers, M.L.As of the District, and 3 persons interested in Education. *Similar Councils with variations in composition would be formed for Calcutta and also for other Municipal areas.* Every Primary School Council would have a paid Chairman and a Vice Chairman. Each Council would form a few committees viz. Recognition, Staff selection, Finance, Discipline, Appeal and Development Committees.

The State Govt. might levy a tax on lands and buildings in

Calcutta and municipal towns at 3% of annual value. All immovable properties would be liable to the payment of education cess not exceeding 10 paise on each rupee of the annual value. In coal mines it would be 50 paise on each ton of coal and in quarries and mines it would be 12 paise per rupee of annual value.

Finance

Every Council should prepare a scheme for Compulsory and free primary education and would make a list of children covered by the scheme. Every school should have a Welfare Committee composed of teachers, guardians, and representatives of local self govt bodies. It would be a duty of the guardian to send children to school. In case of his failure or intransigence, the Welfare Committee might issue *attendance order*, non compliance with which might lead to judicial conviction. A Tribunal under a sub-judge would hear appeals and perform other judicial functions.

This synoptical account of the Primary Education Act shows that vital improvements were expected. A uniform and integrated system might be introduced. But the elective elements were still not dominant. Yet, the Act had been a desired development.

The Act of 1973 was, however, not implemented. The situation in the School Boards in the meantime reached a climax of inefficiency and corruption. The Govt of West Bengal promulgated ordinances in 1978 to replace the District School Boards with Ad hoc district committees for primary education.

The area under Calcutta Corporation which previously had no supervising body was also blessed with an advisory committee.

The Adhoc or advisory committees, are however, measures to last for a short period.

A Bill to amend some of the provisions of the Act of 1973 has already been passed by the Legislative Assembly. The proposals simply want to change the composition of some committees by providing more elected representation of the primary school teachers. The proposals also desire to make some changes in the functions of different bodies.

The Amendments will streamline the Act of 1973 which, when applied, may improve the Administration.

Meanwhile it has been decided to include class V in the cycle

of primary education. This will obviously create the need to strengthen the administrative machine.

The syllabus revision committee has also recommended the addition of an 'infant class' to every primary school. If and when that is accepted by the state Govt., the administration of primary education would require to be still further strengthened with more money and men.

The history of our Local Self Govt. was a history of failures. Let us hope that such failures may not befall us again.

The aforesaid Amendment Bill was passed and assented to. Election of members may be completed before the end of 1981. (The new administration will be discussed in Part VI.)

Failure of Local Self Govt. Agencies

A system of village self Govt. had been an ancient Indian possession. There is Vedic reference to the existence of Sabha and Samiti which the monarchs could not but consult. Kautilya's Arthashastra and 'Indika' of Megasthenes unequivocally refer to a system of self govt. *Self sufficient village economy fostered a self contained village life managed by the village community through village self Govt. institutions.* Village self govt had wide functions. It performed law & order duties and judicial as well as revenue functions. Self Govt. institutions also functioned as guardians of social laws and customs. Political upheavals were matters of the royal court. Self Govt. institutions were not mortally affected thereby. This explains the continuity of Indian culture and social pattern, although it infused an element of conservatism. The pattern of economy also fostered a pattern of self govt. In spite of certain injuries received from time to time, this tradition continued throughout the days of Sultani and Badshahi.

The advent of British power changed the set of things. A new economic pattern forcefully broke down the self sufficiency of village economy and village self govt. Infusion of Western culture militated against many of the traditional values. A new type of political administration, land tenure and judiciary also affected rural life. *The tradition of self govt was gradually obliterated.* For about a century the old system was not replaced by a new

system. A vacuum was created in community life as also in cultural life.

By 1870 the Govt began to experiment with *devolution of authority* and introduced a system of Local Board administration. Lord Ripon gave this movement a definite shape by passing the Local Self Govt Acts. He introduced a system of elections to Corporations, Municipalities and District Boards. The franchise, however, was very limited, and determined mainly by property rights.

Still this was definitely a step forward. *But this system of local self govt was not produced by India's own genius.* It was not a product of the soil. It was rather an imported element representing an attempt to graft a practice in the interest of a foreign bureaucratic administration. Moreover, this local self govt system was "granted" by a foreign ruler as a matter of grace. It was an attempt to divert the attention of the nation from the goal of *political Self Govt* which had been gaining a fresh tempo everyday in the early days of the eighties of the 19th Century. The system as it was introduced by Ripon's Acts was unlike the British system or the American system of local self govt. In both these countries, local self govt had deep roots in traditions. They had established conventionalised powers and privileges which had to be recognised by law. In England, the national ministry has to share power with the Local Authorities. In the 3 tier system of administration in the U.S.A., the Local Authorities enjoy very wide powers and privileges and discharge very important duties as determined by law.

The picture was different in the case of India. Local Self Govt under a very limited franchise could not be the peoples' own medium of action. Lord Ripon and the British Govt did not make it a secret that the institution of some local self govt bodies *must not be taken for a decentralisation of powers.* It was at best a *devolutionary technique in the interest of administration.* Knowing fully well that Local Self Govt was but one dose of concession given to the growing nationalist agitation, the nationalists rather shunned them. The Local Self Govt bodies could not acquire a popular base till a new move was initiated by C. R. Das and his

Swarajya Party to work from within the elected administrative bodies.

It had been against the interest of colonialism to make the system of local self govt really democratic and effectively powerful. Hence, very limited resources were placed at their disposal while a long list of functions was drawn up. Administration of primary education was but one of the multifarious functions including roads and waterways, health and sanitation, local law & order etc. The funds fell far short of requirements. *These institutions became discredited.* In pursuance of Hunter Commission recommendations, the local bodies had been given responsibility of primary education. In Bengal, nothing was achieved in reality excepting some progress made in Calcutta and Chittagong. Similarly, nothing great could be accomplished even after the enactment of Primary Education Acts, viz—The Bengal Acts of 1919 and 1930. Most farcical is the fact that even after the enactment of the Urban Primary Education Act of 1963 (after 16 years of independence), very little progress was made.

The reasons are not far to seek. Educational activities of the District Board had been much dependent upon the Chairman of the Board. The office being unpaid, very little could be done by the Chairman. Members of the local bodies had to catch votes. They could not venture to do anything which might affect the purse of the voter. Communal and caste influences riddled the local bodies from within. The Hartog Committee pointed out that corruption rings and well preserved nests developed in the local bodies. *Corruption and Red Tape went happily together.*

It was not unnatural that Local Self Govt bodies were captured by 'vested interest'. The freedom of local bodies was much sacrificed and powers circumscribed by the bureaucratic arrogance of District and Sub-divisional authorities. Autonomy was a misnomer. The machine of local govt had even been utilised in tracking down revolutionaries. Educational administration, in particular, suffered from a *Duality of control*. The local bodies were to implement the educational laws. They had to manage and control schools. But they had no inspectorate of their own. Similarly, the local bodies were not financially self-sufficient. They

had to depend upon Govt subsidy for primary education. With money was fastened the string of control. Thus *a dichotomy developed between the local bodies and the Department.*

Success of the West Bengal Primary Education Board will depend upon the genuine extent of autonomy it will be vested with and the real resources placed at its disposal. And achievement of universal, free and compulsory primary education on a common school basis in West Bengal is dependent upon the success of the proposed Board. To hope for the best is what we may do for the present.

Primary School Councils

West Bengal witnessed sufficient popular enthusiasm during the Panchayat elections held in 1978. The commendable work done by the panchayats during and after the devastating and unprecedented floods of 1978 showed that our village folk may do miracles if the scope is created for them, and if they consider the issue to be of vital importance. Advantage should be taken of such popular enthusiasm by associating the people with the administration of primary education

The Primary Education Act as amended provides for

- a) A State Primary Education Board.
- b) District Primary School Council for each district.
- c) Calcutta Primary School council for the area under Calcutta Corporation.
- (d) Municipal Primary Council for each municipality.
- e) A welfare Committee for every Primary school.

All the councils will have mixed membership consisting of ex-officio, nominated and elected members. All of them will enjoy exclusive powers within respective jurisdiction.

The welfare committee at the grass root will consist of the Head Master, an elected representative of the teachers of the school, 4 elected guardians, 1 nominated person (of the locality) interested in education, and one representative of the Gram Panchayat concerned.

In fact a great deal may be achieved if the panchayats at the three levels get closely associated with the administration of primary education within their respective jurisdictions.

CHAPTER V

Educational Finance

The system of financing education developed as a part of educational administration. Before 1813, the Company's grants to the Missionaries had been of an ad hoc nature. No state-financing had developed then. The 1813 Charter introduced Government obligations. The amount of One lakh rupees was by no means very significant although it was subsequently increased year after year. But obligatory spending from state coffers was highly significant in as much as it initiated a system of state financing. *No financial machinery or method, however, evolved immediately.* The Directors occasionally sanctioned separate grants as they did in favour of Bombay Native Education Society.

Two new developments occurred in the middle of the 19th Century. Mr. Thomason, Governor of the N. W. Province levied a local rate for education. On the other hand the Despatch of 1854 regularised the financial machine through the provincial Department of Education. The system of fixed annual grant was replaced by a *budgeting system*. Simultaneously a new pattern was introduced through the policy of "drawing support from local resources in addition to contributions from the State". Conditional grant in-aid was this new pattern.

In accordance with the principle of drawing support, local rates were levied on all objects of local utility in all provinces. This was the origin of "Education Cess". Bengal, however, remained an exception on the Landlords' plea that the Permanent Settlement had perpetually fixed the payable revenue and any additional imposition would violate the settlement. The counterpart of agrarian cess was the tax on houses in municipal urban areas. The following chart will give an idea of the rate of local cess and the year of introduction :—

1% in N. W. Province ; 1% in Panjab (1856-57). 2½% in

Oudh (1861) ; $6\frac{1}{4}\%$ Bombay 1863, ($\frac{1}{3}$ of it was earmarked for education) ; $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ Berar (of which $\frac{1}{2}$ was for education). Local rates were introduced in other provinces also, viz. C. P. (1862-63), Sind (1865), Madras (1871), Assam (1879) and Bengal (1882). After a great deal of controversy, the Duke of Argyll (secretary of state) gave the verdict that cess was not a part of revenue. Hence, levying a cess did not violate the Permanent Settlement.

All additional expenditure had to be sanctioned by the Govt. of India. Hence it was difficult to secure additional allotments. The cause of primary education, thus, suffered. The Acts empowering the municipalities to levy tax were permissive in nature. Hence the municipalities did not play a great role. The percentage of municipal earnings spent on education were Madras = 4.09, Bombay = 1.17, N. W. Province and Oudh = 1.77. Assam = 1.17, Berar = 1.33. Panjab = 5.26, C. P. = 5.01 and Bengal = 0.48.

The system of financing primary education differed from province to province. In Bombay and Madras, the local fund cess was placed entirely at the disposal of the local boards. Bombay piled up a district education fund ($\frac{1}{2}$ assigned for primary education). In Northern India the local fund cess was spent for other purposes also.

But the period between 1854 and 1902 was characterised by several warfares waged by the Govt. of India. Financial stringency combined with defective financial administration made the matter worse. Indian industries and commerce were not allowed to develop. The tax policy was regressive. The ordinary man was burdened with the pressure of land revenue, salt tax, cess. Budget deficits told heavily upon educational grants-in-aid. Attempts were made to make good the debit by (i) levy of local fund cess. (ii) Contributions of municipalities (iii) Tuition fees, and (iv) Public donations. Dependence upon the parents' purse became a feature from those early days.

The Act of 1882 led to the formation of District and Municipal Boards. The principle of specific fund was adopted. Govt. assistance came in the form of grants. Remarkable differences occurred between the financial plight of official and non-official

schools. Whereas cost per pupil in an aided school was Rs. 3-7-1 (rupee anna-pie) from Govt. and local funds together, in a departmental school it was Rs. 4-6-5

The apportionment of burden was Govt.=0-15-4, Local Fund Rs. 2-9-11 and Municipal Fund Rs. 0-4-6. The ratio of $\frac{2}{3} : \frac{1}{3}$ between local funds and Govt. funds was maintained. In 1882, total expenditure for primary education was Rs. 16'77 lakh from Provincial Revenue, Rs. 24'88 lakh from local funds. Although primary education was made an obligatory duty for local and municipal boards, the system of *payment by result* vitally affected the growth. Moreover, the local funds remained almost static for years together and more and more Govt. grants were required.

Lord Curzon's administration brought about an improvement in the entire financial system. His period was characterised by larger finance, good and stable relation between Central and Provincial Govts, better collection of revenue and better modes of expenditure, improved resources and increased Central Grants to education. Curzon's policy of 'improvement by control' increased the Govt's obligation towards institutions which could stand against odds to fulfil the conditions required by the Govt.

The first grant of Rs. 25 lakh to universities was made in 1904-05, i.e. 5 lakh a year for 5 universities. Out of this total amount,

Aid to
universities Rs. 11'5 lakh were granted directly to universities for land, buildings, administration, inspection etc

The rest of Rs. 13'5 lakh went to provincial Govts (for improvement of college education). This grant of 5 lakh rupees was also made recurring and permanent. Henceforth, both recurring and non recurring grants increased step by step, viz.—

1911-12 = Non-recurring grant = 16 lakh,

1918 19 = „ „ „ = 44 lakh.

The same trend was visible in secondary and primary education too. While the total educational expenditure in 1901-02 had been Rs. 491 lakh, it rose in 1921-22 to Rs. 1837 lakh.

Prior to the Reforms of 1919, some sources of revenue were Central, some provincial and some others were 'divided. After the reforms, the divided sources were abolished. After re-enlist-

ment of sources, income tax remained central while land revenue excise, stamp, irrigation tax etc. became provincial. Within the province again, finance remained a reserved subject. Finances for the transferred subjects were not separated out. A *Joint Purse System* was introduced.

Many of the sources of revenue being now transferred to the Provinces, Central financial assistance now ceased (the province rather had to pay to the centre). Practically little central assistance was available between 1921 and 1937. Moreover, finance being a reserved subject within the province, the education ministers had to depend upon the fair play or foul play of the Councillors for finance. To add to the difficulty, the heavy axe of retrenchment fell upon education consequent upon the economic crash of 1929. This practice of curtailing educational expenditure as a first measure of economy still continues.

The Reforms of 1935 abolished the Diarchy. With certain specific powers retained in Central hands, Education was made a provincial subject. The question of joint purse or separate purse did exist no longer. But the general pattern of finance continued as before.

Finance in the Era of Independence

The Constitution has made education a state subject. But at the same time the Union Govt has retained some powers and functions. This is imperative in a phase of planning. The states, in their turn, delegated some powers and functions to the local agencies. Hence, the *broad sources of educational finance* are—(1) Govt—Central and State, (2) District Board, (3) Municipalities, (4) Students' fees, (5) other sources viz endowments and donations, foreign aids etc. The expenditure may be broadly divided into two parts (1) Direct expenditure i.e. outlay for the maintenance of institutions, payment of remuneration etc. (2) Indirect expenditure incurred for direction, inspection, buildings, furniture, scholarships etc. Financing procedure is (1) Central grants under planned heads and revenue heads, (2) State grants under planned heads and revenue heads.

Central grant is normally made through (1) the U.G.C., (2)

A.I.C.T.E., (3) C.S.I.R., (4) N.C.E.R.T., (5) foreign aids through ministry. U.G.C. Grants are normally made for buildings, equipment, library, students' and teachers' residence, salaries (specially the salaries of specially selected personnel), scholarships and fellowships, travelling fellowships and study-leave salaries, research grants etc. Occasional grants have been made for developments, centenary celebrations, reform of exams, important seminars and conferences etc.

State finance is controlled mainly by the state department of education. The conventional practice is to make recurring and non-recurring grants to universities, colleges and schools (under grant-in-aid rules). The State Govt pays *matching grants* to universities against Central grants. Subsidy to local agencies is also paid by the Department. The present practice in West Bengal is to pay salaries directly and individually to every recognised and approved primary teacher, secondary and university level teacher.

In spite of this elaborate machine, *spending for education in comparison to Notional Income* is abjectly low. It was 1.28% in 1950-51 and rose to 2.9% in 1970-71. (It is 4% in U.K. and U.S.A. 6% in Japan and 8% in the U.S.S.R.). The central educational budget rarely exceeds 5% of the total budget and the average of State budgets is 20%. The 1st Plan expenditure of 1.2% of National Income was raised only to 2.9% after the 3rd plan. Per capita spending for education was Rs. 3.2 in 1950-51. During the 4th plan it came up to Rs. 12/-. In terms of units of money the amounts seem to have been quadrupled. But in terms of needs and in terms of the falling value of money and in comparison with the position in other countries, the per capita spending is by no means commendable.

The total educational expenditure is shared by the different parties in the following order :—(i) State Govt 69.6%, (ii) District Boards 3.3%, (iii) Municipalities 3.1%, (iv) Students' fees 13% and the rest comes from other sources. Evidently, second only to the Govt, the parents still bear the burden of education. The more this burden diminishes and the earlier the Govt assumes total responsibility, the better for education and the better for the country.

Literacy and Non-Formal Education

The Union Govt should, by its nature, accept the vital responsibility in some aspects of education.

The *question of adult literacy* has been hanging fire for a long time. The percentage of literacy did not go up commendably during the last three decades. By its nature again, the issue calls for central initiative, particularly because the State Govts are, in terms of the Constitutional provisions, responsible more for formalized education than education of the adult illiterate.

The Union Govt launched on 2nd October, 1978 an extensive programme to foster adult literacy. An amount of a hundred crore of rupees had been earmarked for the campaign. The outcome would depend upon how effectively the money is spent, by whom, when and how much.

The *second most vital issue* is that of non formal education for age group 11 to 15 i.e. children whose time had been wasted by stagnation or by abandonment of studies. Legislative enforcement may be required to ensure their attendance. Even before that, stricter regulations are necessary against child labour.

In both the cases, financial assistance must come from the Union Govt although the responsibility of implementing the plans must be with the State Govt. Schools, colleges and universities may be requested to take a hand in literacy drives and non-formal education.

Educational Finance in West Bengal at present calls for detailed analysis and penetrating study. This will be done in Part VI.)

CHAPTER VI

Administration of Secondary Education.

Secondary type of modern education had been developing since the last part of the 18th Century. But there was absence of gradation, because the efforts were individual and there was neither any machinery nor any authority to standardise. Elementary education and secondary education got mixed up in schools just as secondary education got mixed up with higher education

Even after the coming into force of the charter clause of 1813 and the formation of the G.C.P.I. the same anomaly continued. It was the *Despatch of 1854* that led to the establishment of a 'system' of education with graded schools. The concept of Secondary Education found shape consequent upon "gradation"

In accordance with the directives of the Despatch, a Department of Education was established in each provincial administration. The D.P.I. with the help of his Inspectors and other officers would conduct the affairs of the Dept. The department was to administer provincial funds for education, conduct and control govt schools, supervise private schools and sanction grants-in-aid on the basis of inspection reports. Grant-in-aid codes were drafted and inspection introduced. The aids, however, were meagre and partial; and at the same time, the rules were cumbrous and elaborate.

Departmental
control

Introduction of Dual Control

While financial and general control was placed with the Department, academic control of secondary schools vested in the University. The University determined the curricula & syllabuses, prescribed the text books and conducted the Entrance (Matriculation) Examination which was the gateway to collegiate education. Affiliated schools could send up candidates for the Matriculation examination. College education being highly esteemed, secondary schools always tried every means to secure and retain the right to send up. To that extent, secondary education remained under University's control. Thus, departmental control on the one hand, and University control on the other became the practice. This dichotomy is generally known as "dualism" in the administration of

secondary education. A particular school might get itself free from government control if it did not care for aids. But that very school could not but care for the University because right to send up students had to be earned by affiliation.

Hunter Commission did not recommend any vital change in the pattern of administration. It made recommendations for improving the functions of the Department of Education. It directed that grant-in-aid system should be liberalised. Every application for grant should be replied to. Grant should be sanctioned on the basis of locality and type of school and without delay. Scholarships and rewards should be given to students from all schools. On the whole, therefore, freedom of enterprise was admitted.

Centralism under Lord Curzon

Curzon's administration took a move in the opposite direction. Curzon abandoned the theory of withdrawal. He asserted government's right to control private enterprise. The inspection staff was strengthened. The University drafted stricter regulations for recognition of schools. Unrecognised schools could not send up candidates. The recognised schools could not only send up candidates but also receive increased grants. Scholarships were reserved for students from recognised schools. A student from an unrecognised school could not be transferred to a recognised school. Thus, *a school had to secure double recognition—from the govt and also from the university. The old dualism still continued.*

The University had no inspection machine and accepted the information furnished by the school. Hence, the University and the Dept worked independently. This situation was utilised by Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee to defeat Curzon's policy of weeding out "bad" schools. In spite of the department's adverse attitude the University went on affiliating schools.

Sadler Commission recommended the separation of Matriculation and Intermediate Education from the University. It recommended the formation of a provincial board with representatives from the Govt, University, High schools, and Intermediate colleges to administer and control secondary and intermediate education.

The National Education Movement had all along been consistently demanding Indian control. A positive development towards this end was occasioned by the new division of functions as per Montagu-Chelmsford declaration. Education became a transferred provincial subject with the exception of the education of Anglo-Indians and Indian Chiefs.

The British Govt had carefully infused some communal elements into the reforms to counteract the elective element. After 1921, therefore, there developed some special institutions with a communal slant. Reservation of accommodation in govt. institutions, preferential award of scholarships and free studentships, and preferential recruitment were some features of the period. Yet, the positive feature was that by 1936-37 the Govt department of education was completely Indianised.

Another feature of administrative problems in the days of the diarchy was the controversy over the fate of the Intermediate college. Consequent upon the recommendations of the Sadler Commission some of the provinces gave a fair trial to the Intermediate College and established Boards of Secondary and Intermediate Studies. Allahabad, Lucknow, Aligarh universities excluded Intermediate courses which devolved upon Inter-Boards. In Bengal, the Dacca Board was established with the explicit responsibility of controlling Matriculation and Intermediate education in Dacca Municipal area.

But the different provincial authorities very soon expressed doubts about the justifiability of continuing the intermediate course under a separate Board. The matter could not be thrashed out immediately, because various propositions were discussed simultaneously about prolongation of school education to 11 or even 12 years.

Mudaliar Commission

After independence, the Secondary Education Commission (Mudaliar) considered the problem of administration also. The recommendations were :—(i) formation of a Ministerial Committee at the centre to coordinate the educational activities of different

Ministries in regard to school-level education (ii) formation of a similar Committee for every State (iii) A State Coordination Committee of departmental heads with D.P.I. as convener. (iv) A State Board to control general and vocational education alike. (v) The State Board under the chairmanship of the D.P.I. would consist of 25 members representing various interests (University, Govt. business and commerce, teachers etc.) of which 10 must be experts in technical and vocational education. (vi) The functions of the Board would be (a) recognition of schools. (b) determination of the requisite qualifications of teachers including approval of appointments, (c) determination of curriculum and syllabuses. (d) conducting examinations and certifying the successful candidates. (e) tendering advice to the D.P.I. on matters related with secondary education, (f) training of graduate teachers in university level institutions and non-graduate teachers under control of a separate Board of Training. (g) apart from the C.A.B.E. there should be State Advisory Boards. (h) financial sources would consist of State grants, Municipal grants, Public endowments and tuition and examination fees. (i) State expenditure for secondary education should be processed through the state Board. (j) a technical education cess should be levied and the Central Board of Vocational Education should disburse the amounts among State Boards. (k) a special committee should be formed to draw up salary schedules.

The Commission also apportioned some responsibilities for the Central Govt viz.—(a) establishment of Multipurpose schools bearing the cost thereof, (b) determination of the curriculum in broad outlines, (c) maintenance of training and vocational institutions. (d) provisions for educational research, (e) establishment of experimental schools.

For the last quarter of a century, the administration of secondary education has been conducted by the different State Boards on the general lines suggested by the Mudaliar Commission with changes made as necessary. *There are wide variations in respect of the powers of the Board, extent of its autonomy and its relation with the State Department of Education.* The concrete example of West Bengal may be cited.

The Case of West Bengal

The provisions of the Despatch of 1854 had been equally applicable to all the provinces. The recommendations of the Hunter commission also had an all-India applicability. Similarly Curzon's measures were centrally directed. There was little chance of province-wise variations. But bureaucratic control of secondary education as envisaged in Curzon's administrative scheme was

most stringently applied in Bengal, in view of the nationalist upsurge and extremist politics. The same reason again created in Bengal a strong urge for educational self determination and non-official control. This explains why the Sadler Commission's recommendation for a separate board of secondary education could not be implemented in Bengal. Administrative controversies were heightened during diarchy. The University of Calcutta consistently resisted the attempts of the provincial government to officialise the proposed Board of Secondary Education. *Administration, therefore, continued on the dual track.* Even when schools were refused Govt recognition and concomitant Govt aids, the University accorded them recognition, enabling the schools to enjoy academic privileges. The policy of bureaucratic control was thereby largely defeated.

West Bengal Board of Secondary Education

The tussle between Govt and University subsided after independence and secondary education was transferred to the care of West Bengal Board of Secondary Education formed in 1951. The Board included some ex-officio members like the D.P.I., a few heads of Govt departments, and also representatives of University, technical and agricultural experts etc. Moreover, it had an elective element. Teachers' representatives could have their voices heard for the first time. An annual grant of Rs. 30 lakhs was placed at the Board's disposal. The Board was supposed to be autonomous. But *the Board had no inspectorate of its own*, although the School Education Committee (West Bengal) had suggested an inspectorate under the Board.

Problems took no time to arise. Formation of a State Board with elected non-official representatives created high hopes. Consequent upon the partition of Bengal, new schools grew up in West

Bengal in rapid succession. Older schools pressed for Govt. aids which had been so long denied. New schools Supercession of the Board pressed for recognition and aids. But *the Inspectorate was controlled by departmental bureaucracy.* And the bureaucrats could not like to surrender power to non-official agencies. Moreover, *the fixed annual grants made to the Board failed to meet the pressing public demand.* Discontent and conflict was the outcome. And ultimately, on 11th may, 1954, the Board was superseded and the rule of "Administrator" ensued. After 10 years of Administrator's arbitrary rule, a new Board was formed by a Legislative Act.

The Second Board

This Board Consisted of

A president appointed by the State Govt., the D.P.I., Directors of Agriculture, Industries, Health. D.D.P.s in charge of Technical Education, Women's Education, Secondary Education; Deans of the Faculties of Arts and Sciences (C.U.); Principal, Jadavpur college of Engineering and Technology Adhyaksha, Kalabhawan, Viswabharati, One Dean each from the Universities of Kalyani and North Bengal, 2 members of the State Legislature, 2 nominated by State Govt from teachers of technical and professional institutions, 4 persons interested in education (nominated), 2 Heads of secondary schools nominated by Govt, 2 others (one woman) elected, 3 representatives from secondary teachers' associations.

It is evident that (i) the Board was dominated by ex-officio and nominated members, (ii) some of the members might have very little direct interest in secondary education, (iii) teachers' representation was disproportionately low, and (iv) the elective element was microscopic.

The functions of this second Board of Secondary Education were (i) granting affiliation to schools, (i) framing the curriculum, (iii) determination of syllabuses, (iv) approval of Text Books (and publication if it was so decided,) (v) Conducting Examinations, (vi) certification of successful candidates, (vii) to Functions function as appellate authority to hear teachers' complaints against injustice perpetrated by school managers, (viii) to

frame constitutions for school committees, (ix) to approve school committees and qualifications of teachers, and (x) to supersede school Committee, if necessary. Researches in school curricula and syllabuses had been conceived of as a function of the Board. But nothing has been done in this respect.

The Board's Chairman and Secretary were both appointed by the State Govt. There were and are a few Deputy Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries, as well as a permanent clerical staff. *A bureaucratic character was nicely maintained.*

But finance and inspection was still out of the Board's reach. *Finance was directly controlled by the Department of Education, as was the Inspectorate.* Affiliation, supercession and a host of other problems between the Board and the schools were processed through the Directorate of Education. *The same old dualism still continued* to the detriment of smooth administration.

Moreover, the Public Schools and Central Schools within the State were directly controlled by the Central Board of Secondary education. Many of the non-official schools of West Bengal also secured affiliation with the Indian School Certificate Examination system. The Board's jurisdiction has thereby been further circumscribed.

The Board should, therefore, be a genuinely autonomous body with wider powers covering all aspects of secondary education. It should also be democratised with additional weightage to the elective element. *A new constitution of the Board was called for.* (Details of the functioning of the new Board formed under the new Act will be analysed in Part VI)

Before that could be attempted, various public charges piled up against the Board and it was again superseded and an Administrator appointed. Whenever an administrator had been appointed the administrative machine remained the same, just as the different offices remained non-variable. Variations in the Board's composition, functions and offices was called for. An amendment to the Secondary Board Act was made to make it practically a new Act. Let us hope for a better and more democratic administration.

The Higher Secondary Council

The Indian Education Commission (Kothari Commission) had explicitly recommended that higher secondary education in classes XI and XII was to be considered as extended secondary education and should, therefore, be treated as school education.

The Commission had unmistakably recommended that state Boards of Secondary Education should administer the education at this stage too. The Pre-University course should no more vest in the university. In short, the Board of Secondary Education should administer education below the undergraduate stage. The Board might be strengthened for this purpose.

The first administrative departure in West Bengal started with making education in classes XI and XII a separate stage, namely +2 stage.

The logical second departure was the formation of a separate Higher Secondary Council by a Legislative Act in 1974. The composition of the council is—Chairman (nominated), Directors of Secondary Education, Technical Education, Directors of Industries and Agriculture (West Bengal), 3 heads of institutions (all nominated), 3 members of the Legislative Assembly, Principal of the Regional College of Engineering, Durgapur, Vice Chancellor of Bidhan Chandra Agricultural University (all ex-officio) and the then pro-vice chancellor, Calcutta University.

The council has working groups for (i) Instruction and examination, (ii) Equivalence. It has also subjectwise Boards of Studies composed of members and non-members (considered as experts) nominated by the chairman.

The functions of the Council as defined in the Act may be summed up as—(1) Determination of academic principles and standards, (2) Academic and administrative supervision of affiliated institutions, (3) Up-grading of selected secondary schools to higher secondary schools, (4) General control and guidance. (5) Examination and certification, (6) Determination of curricula and syllabuses.

As in the case of the Board of Secondary Education, the control of finance lies with the state govt which acts through the Director of Secondary Education and his Deputy.

The council's administrative jurisdiction and functions have been further circumscribed by the location of classes XI and XII in both schools and colleges. So far as colleges are concerned, the functions of the council get limited to syllabus making and holding examinations. For all other aspects of administration, the colleges are responsible to the university. Moreover, the council did not prepare a salary schedule for higher secondary teachers. Teachers with same qualifications are paid differently in schools and colleges. This is a source of constant discontent.

In fact, the administration of higher secondary education calls for immediate reform and improvement. The following may be the ways out—(1) An immediate decision on the question whether the higher secondary course should, in the long run, (temporary exigencies notwithstanding) be located in school or in college. One of the alternatives should be chosen in the interest of uniformity and streamlined administration.

2. A decision should be taken whether separate 2yr institutions would be better than the present arrangement. Only in such a case, the council may genuinely play an independent role.

3. If the council is retained, it should be reconstituted with an effective representation of teachers working in higher secondary schools.

4. The elective element should feature prominently in the constitution of the council.

5. The functions of the council should be redefined to make it more meaningful.

CHAPTER VII

Administration of University Education

'As the Philosophy, so the State'—goes the axiom. We may accept the near axiom—"As the State, so is the system of education, and as the system of education, so is its administration." In fact, *the administration of education is determined by two factors—* (i) The theory of State, and (ii) The theory of Education. The theory of education determines the aim of education which in its turn determines educational administration.

While discussing the administration of higher education, we should, therefore, begin with a synoptic reference to the aims of higher education. The aims of higher education have been variously defined from country to country, from age to age and from person to person. One of the basic objectives of higher education is *Advancement of Learning* by conquering new fields of knowledge through disciplined thinking, research and experimentation. A second basic objective is *propagation of knowledge* through effective teaching at the highest level. The third basic objective is to *ensure the continuity of culture* by helping younger generations to get acquainted with the heritage of the nation and of the world. Universities in the past had experienced enough of intellectual exercises which very often bred high browed snobbery in the student population and created a breach between the society and its academic institutions. The modern age, however, experienced the growth of science and its vital role in human life. The Universities became centres of scientific research and producers of technical knowhow required for commerce and industries. Evidently, the *production of specialised manpower* was added to the list of objectives. With closer relation thus established between the society and the university, the latter was called upon to *solve social problems* by dissemination of knowledge through extension lectures and solving industrial and economic problems placed before it.

We may sum up, in short, that *the aims of higher education include* (i) Cultivation of new knowledge and reinterpretation of

We are now in a position to enumerate the different parties and interests in the administration of higher education. In the ancient days, the universities had been corporate bodies of teachers and students, the state playing practically very little part. But, in the modern era, *the State* has come into the picture. *The society* has vital interests in the affairs of the University since business, commerce, industries and professions stand to gain or lose in proportion to the success or failure of higher education. Then *the faculty members* have matters of direct interest in an effective administration of the institution. In connection with the affiliating universities, the *College governors* may have involved interests. *The teachers of affiliated colleges* have a heavy stake in university administration. And last, but one of the most important elements is *the student-body*. All these elements must co-operate in the interest of providing a good Govt.

The affiliated colleges occupy a vital position in our system of higher education, because they provide undergraduate education for the majority of young aspirants. $\frac{2}{3}$ of the affiliated colleges are private and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the professional colleges are of the same nature. Share of the local self government bodies is negligible. With this heavy indebtedness to private enterprise the problem of administering these institutions assumes great importance. The University Education Commission suggested governance by representatives of Donors or Foundation Trusts, Principal and teaching staff, the Alumni, the University, the Government and eminent educationists representing the Public. This problem had, for long been a headache in the affairs of Calcutta University. The Act of 1966, however, increased the intervening powers of the Syndicate as also the importance of teachers' representatives. Bickerings, however, are still not matters of the past.

The structure of University administration is apparently simple. With the Visitor/Chancellor at the top, the actual responsibility devolves upon the Vice-Chancellor who should be an eminent educationist. The name is normally proposed by the syndicate and ultimately nominated by the govt. The supreme policy-making body is the Senate which is otherwise designated also as the "Court", "The University". The executive authority

vests in the *Syndicate* which has 'Executive Council' as its alternative name. The *Academic Council* is responsible for all academic affairs. There are also *Councils*, both undergraduate and postgraduate, *Faculty* for a discipline or group of disciplines, and a *Board of Study* (Post graduate and undergraduate) for each subject. This Board is responsible for the organisation of actual teaching.

Evolution of University Administration in India

The earliest three of the modern Universities of India were brought into being in 1857. by Acts of the Central Executive Council. These Universities were modelled upon the University of London with examining and certifying duties. The Act of Incorporation determined the aim as 'ascertaining by means of examinations, the persons who have acquired proficiency....

rewarding them by Academic Degrees, as evidence of their respective attainments.' The body corporate would consist of Chancellor, Vice-chancellor and Fellows. The number of fellows would not be less than 26 Members of this body-politic would all be nominated.

The fellows would be of two classes—(i) Ex-officio fellows, viz. Chief Justice, Bishop, members of the Executive Council, D. P. I., Inspector of Presidency Division, Principals of Govt Colleges. (ii) Ordinary fellows would be appointed by govt for life. The Senate would be headed by the Chancellor (normally the Lieutenant Governor). The Vice-Chancellor, appointed by Governor-General in Council for 2 years, would carry on all the day to day administration of the University. The first Chancellor, V. C. and fellows were nominated by the Act itself. Exactly similar Acts of Incorporation were passed for Calcutta, Madras and Bombay Universities.

This original pattern of University Administration had its *intrinsic defects*. No upper limit was fixed for the numerical strength of the Senate. Fellows were nominated for life. The fellows were very often men without academic interest. They were nominated for honorific recognition of their service to the govt. Many of them were, therefore, sleeping members of the Senate. In the absence of a statutory Syndicate, the executive functions were discharged by adhoc arrangements. The functions were

very narrow and limited. The University only granted affiliation to colleges and conducted examinations. The teaching duties were discharged by the colleges. The Degrees and Certificates conferable by the University were listed in the Act.

Some *further statutory developments* occurred during the subsequent decades. The Indian Universities (Degree) Act was passed in 1860. It empowered the Universities to confer such diplomas, degrees or Licenses as might be approved under bylaws. The Indian Universities Honorary Degree) Act of 1884 empowered the three older Universities to confer Honorary L.L.D.

The Panjab University was incorporated by a separate act of 1882. (i) It established a Faculty of Oriental Learning. B. A. M.A. and Doctoral Degrees in Oriental learning were instituted. (ii) The University was empowered to confer oriental literary titles. (ii) It could conduct examinations in vernacular language, and (iv) could award "native" titles (both Hindu and Mohammedan) in Law and Medicine.

Some *more innovations* were introduced in the University of Allahabad which was established by an Act of 1887. The University could maintain its own staff (even private lecturers). The University was particularly required to attend to methods and aims of instruction and adopt them to the needs, circumstances and provisions in India. No limitation was placed upon the scope of the University's activities.

Thus continued our Universities till the end of the 19th century with very little changes in functions and administration. The Matriculation Examination had been instituted at the earliest opportunity. *The first Matriculation Examination* under Calcutta University was held in 1857 (with 162 candidates), the first under Madras University in the same year (36 candidates) and the first under Bombay University in 1859 (21 candidates).

Second Phase : Lord Curzon

A new phase in University Administration was occasioned by Lord Curzon's intervention. The Simla Education Conference of

1901 led to the institution of the Universities Commission of 1902, upon the recommendations of which the Indian Universities Act of 1904 was passed. The Act required the Universities to enforce a strict and systematic supervision of Colleges. Stricter conditions of affiliation were laid down. Periodical inspection was a special duty enjoined upon the University.

The Act limited the Senates to manageable size between 50 and 100 members. The fellows would enjoy a term of 5 years. A system of election was introduced. 20 Senators were to be elected at each of the 3 older Universities and 15 each at the two others. A statutory syndicate with representatives of University teachers was instituted as the highest executive organ of the University.

Stricter Govt. control was a feature of the Act of 1904. Under the Act of 1857 the Senate might frame regulations which could be ultimately vetoed by the Govt, by refusing approval. Under the Act of 1904, the Govt. could make additions and alterations to the regulations framed by the Senate or even frame regulations for the University. Affiliation and disaffiliation of Colleges now required Govt. approval. The territorial jurisdiction of a University could now be determined by the Governor General in Council.

Prior to 1904, a system of Govt Grants to Universities was absent, because the simplest functions of the University created no problem of funds. Only a special grant had been made to Panjab University to cover the cost of Oriental studies and Law courses.

Excessive Govt control Lord Curzon inaugurated a new phase by making the first Govt Grants to Universities in 1904-05. After 1904 there were frequent meetings of the Syndicate. College inspection was introduced and additional administrative posts were created. But the Funds fell short of requirements. The nationalists resented this state as "all control and no funds." In spite of some streamlining in administration achieved under the Act of 1904, there were some over-zealous activities of the Govt. This led the Sadler Commission to characterise the Calcutta University as "the most Completely Governmentalised University in the world".

University finance, however, improved gradually. The lump

grant made by Curzon was subsequently made a recurring grant. The educational policy resolution of 1913 (21st February), proposed a separate University for each province. It was declared that teaching in the Universities would be encouraged and selected colleges in mufussil areas should be specially nursed with the object of developing them into Universities.

Third Phase : Sadler Commission

The Calcutta University Commission under Sir Michael Sadler worked for two years, 1917 to 1919. The commission proposed that (i) The intermediate standard should be the line of demarcation between school education and college education, (ii) Intermediate Colleges should be established and a separate Board of Secondary and Intermediate Studies should be formed for the province, (iii) Resources should be pooled for a Teaching University at Calcutta, (iv) a separate University of Unitary Type should be established at Dacca, (v) Mufussil Colleges should be so developed that they might ultimately form the nuclei for new universities, (vi) Regulations to conduct the work of the University should be made less rigid. (vii) appointment of Professors and Readers should be made by Selection Committees which should include experts. The Commission also recommended improvements in the work of the Faculties and Boards of Studies etc.

Although the Sadler Commission had enquired into the affairs of the Calcutta University, *its recommendations acquired all-India importance* because the problems of the Universities had been similar. Between 1921 and 1937, *i.e. the period of Diarchy*, some attempts were made to reorganise University administration on lines proposed by the Sadler Commission. Indian delegates attended the Congress of Universities of the Empire in 1921. The Lytton Committee suggested the formation of Inter University Board. The first Conference of Indian Universities was held at Simla in 1924 and *an Inter-University Board was formed* with representatives from the Universities. A major function of the Board was determination of equivalence of Degrees conferred by the different Universities.

New Universities were established during this period—Delhi, Nagpur, Agra, Andhra, Annamalai etc.

Some changes were made in the administration of older Universities also. The Madras Amendment Acts of 1923 and 1929, The Bombay Act of 1928 the Patna Act of 1932 and similar other measures were concerned with Teaching and Research at the Universities. Military Training was introduced and the problem of residence and health of students attended to.

University Acts passed after Sadler Commission excluded intermediate studies from the administrative jurisdiction of Universities. The Dacca Act of 1921 excluded Inter-Education which was placed in control of a Non University Board under the authority of the Govt. Allahabad, Lucknow, Aligarh University Acts excluded Intermediate courses. Two Boards of secondary and intermediate studies were formed in the U. P. The Madras Act of 1923 proposed the earliest possible transference of Intermediate studies to Inter Board.

But, *opposition to Intermediate colleges became vocal before long.* The arguments were that, (i) the Inter-colleges failed to prove their worth, (ii) separation of Inter studies told heavily upon the finances of Degree Colleges, (iii) competent teachers were not available for intermediate colleges, (iv) it was better to house inter and degree stages together, (v) a 3 year degree course would not be accepted by poor parents, (vi) the loss of matriculation and intermediate "fees" would make the universities poorer.

The Andhra University Act of 1926, the Bombay Act of 1928, the Annamalai Act of 1929, the Patna Act of 1932 etc permitted the Universities again to control Intermediate education. A report on conditions in Bihar (1931-32) said that Intermediate colleges could not attract better students. Another report for 1936-37 opined that the Intermediate scheme was never likely to be successful. A Panjab Report (1936-37) remarked that the Inter-Colleges had dwindled in popularity. The *Hartog Committee* also had considered the question and the C.A.B.E. suggested that one year from the 2 year Inter-course might better be added to school education and the other year to college education. Only Dacca.

U.P., Bihar and Panjab gave a fair trial to Intermediate course. The U.P. Board acquired a wide field of functions viz. (i) determination of courses, (ii) recognition and inspection of schools, (iii) conducting High School and Intermediate examinations.

Nothing of significant importance happened under Provincial Autonomy. The next phase of administrative change ensued after 1947.

Administrative Provisions under the Constitution

Since the introduction of the Constitution, the administration of higher education has been refashioned in accordance with the educational provisions of the Constitution. *List I, Schedule VII of the Constitution* (otherwise known as Union List) specifies the functions and powers of the Central Govt in regard to higher education. The Central Govt is to administer (i) the National Library, the Indian Museum, the Victoria Memorial and other institutions financed by the Central Govt, and declared by Parliamentary Act as institutions of national importance, (ii) administer the Benares, Aligarh, Delhi Universities (Viswabharati and Jawaharlal Nehru, Hyderabad Universities subsequently added), Institutes of Science and Technology, financed wholly or partly by the Central Govt, and declared by the Parliament, (iii) Union agencies and institutes for professional, vocational and technical training, promotion of special studies and research, (iv) co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions of higher education and research, as well as scientific and technological institutions, (v) ancient and historical monuments, (vi) surveys of India (Geographical, Botanical, Zoological, Geological, Anthropological) etc.

List II Schedule VII (otherwise known as State List), includes (i) Education, including Universities subject to the above noted provisions of List I and entry 25 of List III (Concurrent List), (ii) Libraries, museums etc. financed by the State, (iii) monuments other than those of national importance, (iv) agricultural education and Veterinary Training, (v) Incorporation, regulation and winding up of Universities etc

Evidently, the Central Govt has a great amount of responsibility,

and control in regard to higher education. These responsibilities are discharged through the University Grants Commission.

University Grants Commission

The Sargent Committee had recommended the formation of a University Grants Committee. In 1945, such a Committee was formed with 4 members with the responsibility of conducting the Central Universities. In 1946, the Constitution of the Committee was amended by resolution. Then the University Education Commission again suggested a U. G. C. with extended powers. In 1953, therefore, the Grants Committee was reformed with extended powers to - (i) tender expert advice on standard of higher education, (ii) look after financial needs and make allocations of grants on behalf of the Central Govt, (iii) decide upon expansion of higher education and establishment of new universities, (iv) consider the standard of degrees awarded by Universities, (v) Reform and improve University education, (vi) carry on other functions concerned with higher education and (vii) advise the Central ministry. In 1955, the U. G. C. was again reformed by another Act. The Commission was formed with a few Vice-Chancellors, a few representatives of the Central Govt, a few educationists of repute. It was declared that the U. G. C. would safeguard the autonomy of Universities. Since then, U. G. C. has been working through a few standing committees and has been exerting a tremendous influence upon University education. Central grants for university education are placed at its disposal. The Commission disburses the amount according to its own plans.

The Central Govt's functions in Higher Education, therefore, consist of financing, co ordination, determination of national policies, determination of standards, expansion and provision of higher education. All this is done through the U.G.C.

Another agency of all India importance is the Association of Universities whose functions include—(i) dissemination of information, (ii) exchange of professors, (iii) communication and co-ordination between Universities, (iv) securing recognition of Indian degrees in other countries, (v) selection of representatives to represent India at

Functions of
U. G. C.

Inter-University
Board

International Conferences, (v) settlement of disputes between Indian Universities regarding equivalence of examinations and degrees. The annual meeting of the Association serves as a valuable forum to discuss matters of common interest.

State Powers

Apart from the indirect central control exercised through the U.G.C., the state govt has a wide field of freedom in higher education. State Universities are incorporated by acts of legislature. The state legislature determines the jurisdiction, function and general framework of the University constitution. Every change in University administration has to be processed through the legislature. The University draws up its rules, regulations and ordinances subject to approval of the state legislature. Sometimes the state legislature goes to the extent of including the rules and regulations in the Act of Incorporation itself. Due to varying interests of different states, the administration of Universities has acquired different slants in the recent periods. The U. G. C has therefore drafted a *Model University Act* which might be adopted by states with necessary changes if called for. But the interests of the states has been reigning supreme. No uniform model could be adopted.

Till the days of Lord Curzon, University administration was vitally controlled by the Central Govt. From the days of Diarchy, variations were a natural phenomenon. Variations became more prominent after 1947. (The U. G. C. has been trying to establish a unity in diversity). The development of Calcutta University may be cited for example.

Calcutta University

Administration of Calcutta University developed in four phases marked by four Acts, viz. The first act of 1857, the Act of 1904, the Calcutta University Act of 1951. and the Calcutta University Act of 1966. All the details of administration in the intervening periods were determined by rules, regulations and ordinances issued by the University itself, by resolutions of the Syndicate and the Senate.

The first Act of 1857 had been common for all the first three Universities. The Act of 1904 was also common for all the

5 Universities existent in that year. (These acts have been discussed. Hence reference to subsequent Acts will complete our discussion.) The report of the Sadler Commission had made many important recommendations—academic and administrative. Many of the academic recommendations were implemented, but nothing could be done in regard to administrative reforms. Had the University accepted the formation of an Intermediate Board and handover matriculation and intermediate examinations to the charge of the Board, the question of reorganising the University's functions and reform of administration would have been a practical necessity. But prolonged controversy on the issue between the University and the Provincial Govt particularly on the question of the personnel of the Board, left no chance for any administrative reform.

The Act of 1951

After independence, the Universities Commission (Radha krishnan Commission) submitted a valuable report. The conflict between Govt and University also ended. In 1951 the Secondary Education Act came into force and control of secondary schools was transferred from the University to the Secondary Board. In the same year, Viswabharati became a separate University. Hence a new act was passed for restructuring Calcutta University's administrative machine with particular attention to democratisation and liberalisation.

The Act of 1951 replaced the framework of the act of 1904. The new act followed the general outline given in the Universities Commission Report and provided for closer co-ordination of the colleges under the University. It also redefined the composition, powers and duties of the various bodies. The Senate was redeclared as the supreme governing body and was enlarged in size by the

Provisions of
the Act

inclusion of elected representatives of the affiliated colleges, the professional colleges, the constituent colleges, university teachers, college teachers and registered graduates. The Syndicate was reconstituted as a larger body including representatives of Faculties, Senate and Academic Council. The Academic Council was installed as an academic

authority to regulate teaching, research and examinations. It was composed mainly of teachers, with a quota fixed for non-teachers elected by the Senate. Faculties were prescribed by Statutes and Regulations from time to time. There were Boards of Studies for the faculties. Other organs were also established viz. the Board of Health and the Board of Residence and Discipline (of students).

The Act of 1966

Hardly a decade had passed when voices were raised for further reconstitution of the administration of Calcutta University. It is true that certain anomalies and over lappings had been identified in the process of working the Act of 1951. Perhaps statutes and regulations might have rectified the flaws. A new Act was instead drawn up. The nature of the Act led to prolonged controversies. Ultimately, however, the Act of 1966 was passed and University administration till date (1981) is conducted under the provisions of this act. A new legislative measure was adopted recently.

The Act of 1966 did not introduce any change in the nature of the University, nor did it introduce vital novelties. The powers and functions of the different organs of administration were redefined. The important aspects were—(i) Concentration of extra ordinary special powers in the hands of the Vice Chancellor, (ii) Creation of two posts of Pro-Vice-Chancellors for academic affairs and for finance and business affairs. (The post of Treasurer was abolished). (iii) Enhancement of the powers of the Syndicate, (iv) The Senate remained formally the supreme body, but its glamour was lost, (v) Composition and procedures of Selection Committees were changed, (vi) Representation of teachers (both post-graduate and under-graduate) was increased and weightage of the non-teacher constituencies, particularly the Graduates' Constituency reduced, (vii) Post graduate and Under-graduate Councils were formed and partially vested with executive functions, (viii) Composition of Faculties and Boards of Studies were reshuffled, (ix) The Academic Council was retained as the authoritative body for academic affairs, (x) The powers and functions of the different organs were redefined, (xi) The University's Inspection machine was strengthened, (xii)

The University's power of intervention in the governance of private affiliated colleges was enhanced.

The objective of the Act of 1966 was to streamline the administration. This was partially achieved. *But all was not well.* Different organs often entered into loggerheads. Vital administrative changes would have to be further made if the University was to maintain a physical existence and improve upon the present performances

CHAPTER VII

Current Problems of Educational Administration

We have recorded a descriptive account of educational administration. Our discussions can be rounded up with a note on some of the problems of educational administration which call for immediate attention and solution.

A. The Problem of Inspection/Supervision

In ancient and mediaeval days there had been no external authority superior to the teacher. Obviously, there could be no question of school inspection or supervision as we know it to day. It was only when the state entered into the field of education as a superior authority and exercised the right to direct and determine educational systems and practices that a system of inspection was initiated. More precisely, in the case of India, the present system of inspection came into being with the application of the provisions of the Despatch of 1854, specially the Grant-in-aid system.

The situation of its birth also instilled a particular character into the system of inspection. Schools conducted by the govt were controlled by the D.P.I. who worked through the inspectorate. Obviously, the Govt schools and their teachers were put under the thumb of the inspecting personnel. Financial grants to and departmental recognition of private schools were made dependent upon favourable report of the inspectors who took into

account the plants, buildings, equipment, accounts etc. In a colonial and bureaucratic administration the inspectors became demi-gods because the fate of a school depended upon their pleasure or displeasure. Every effort was made to secure or even purchase their favour. The pedagogical aspect of school-life formed a minor part of the inspector's functions. As a matter of fact, the principle of 'supervision' was never given preference to that of 'inspection'.

The same tradition continues till date. Previously when the number of schools had remained within narrow limits, the inspectors could partially devote their time and energy to classroom supervision of lessons. At present a primary school inspector (in other words circle sub-inspector) has about a hundred schools in his charge. Even if he had no other business, it would scarcely be possible, even physically, to inspect a school a day. A school may go uninspected for a year or two or even more.

The major work, however, is not academic supervision but preparing 'returns', drawing salary bills for teachers, making enquiries, administratorship in superseded secondary schools, or a host of table work. Inspectors practically lose their links with teaching. They are not posted with latest information about pedagogical developments. They lack in training for inspectorship.

In fact, the concept of inspection is more connected with external provisions and partly internal provisions, particularly finances. Bureaucratic modes of work and corrupt practices reign supreme these days.

As against inspection we may define school supervision as the foundation upon which all the programmes for the improvement of teaching, must be built. Supervision is an in-school activity that helps the teacher to do his job better. In short, supervision is the planned programme for the improvement of institution.

In fact, the aim of supervision is the improvement of teaching.

The principles of supervision are—(a) leadership, (b) co-operation, (c) considerateness, (d) creativity, (e) integration, (f) planning, (g) flexibility, (h) community orientation, (i) objectivity, (f) evaluation, (k) research.

The supervisor is expected to be considerate, flexible, co-operative and objectively prepared to help the teacher.

Types of supervision :—(1) We may refer to the old type i. e. *authoritarian* supervision. This may lead to covert discontent of the school managers and teachers and affect the smooth functioning of the institution. (2) *Partial* supervision may be another type i. e. supervision in respect of particular subjects of study, particular grades or particular aspects of administration. (3) As against partial supervision there may be *wholistic or global* supervision touching upon all aspects of school life. (4) As against authoritarian type, supervision may be *democratic*, which involves consideration, co operation and leadership. (5) *Creative* supervision is that which helps to bring the school and the community closer together and seeks to infuse a community orientation to the entire process of education. In fact, *scientific* supervision involves objectivity, flexibility, planning, execution of planned action and evaluation.

The basic objective of supervision is to help the class room teacher in the instructional process for a better performance, and to help the Headmaster in his functions as the leader of a team of teachers. Supervision, therefore, involves—(a) *talking* to each other i. e. between supervisor and teacher/headmaster ; (b) *Planning* in co operation with one another. (c) *guiding* one another, (d) *directing* each other, if needed ; (e) *sharing* with one another the agonies and elations ; (f) *co-operating* with one another on the basis of specific projects ; (g) *Counselling* one another, (h) *helping* one another as co-travellers.

While planning or doing supervision work, the supervisor must take into account (i) the plants and equipment of the school (ii) the organic size of the institution ; (iii) the locality and the clientele of the school, and the relationship of the school with the local people ; (iv) the headmaster and his qualities as well as his relation with the rest of the school ; (v) the teaching staff, taking the bio-data of each teacher and his service-records into account ; (vi) the lower grade employees of the school and their relationship with the teaching staff ; (vii) the social and academic background of the school managers.

The supervisor must know how supervision may affect teaching and discipline and how it may influence teacher-behaviour. The supervisor has a role in connection with the selection of teachers for in-service training and special subject-wise training, or organisation of and participation in extension work. The supervisor should have a superior knowledge of evaluation technique so that he may help the school in adopting scientific methods of evaluation.

A school may have to face internal and external problems which may call for rational, judicious and tactful handling. In all such cases, the supervisor should come forward to solve the problems. We may, as a matter of illustration, enumerate a few of such problems only to show how wide and varied the supervisor's work is :—

(1) A co-educational school in a rural area may have to face a problem of adolescent exuberance.

(2) A school may suffer from financial problems caused by delayed payment of Govt grant-in-aid.

(3) Assistant teachers of a school (at least a few of them) may possess higher academic degrees than the headmaster and thereby an inter-personal conflict may arise.

(4) Defalcation of funds may be detected in a school.

(5) The tone of administration in a school may be bureaucratic.

(6) Teachers of a school may be divided into partisan groups

(7) A school without a play ground may cause a problem.

(8) Teachers of a school may be deeply involved in political work causing slackness in school duties.

(9) Excessive private tuitions may undermine the school work of some teachers.

(10) A managing committee may be unresponsive to the genuine grievances of teachers.

(11) Teachers and non teaching staff may be at loggerheads

(12) Pupils' truancy may undermine the daily time-table and discipline of the school.

(13) Group rivalries in the locality may penetrate into the body of the school.

(14) Somehow or other an antagonism may develop between the school and the local community.

(15) A teacher may be unresponsive to the scientific methods of teaching.

(16) Guardians may complain of particular favours or dis-favours in examination scores.

(17) A teacher may be too much attached to severe punishment.

Many such problems may affect the smooth administration of the school. The intelligent supervisor should take initiative to solve all these problems. He must enlist the support of the local community which may stand guarantee to his success.

Supervision work may improve if :—

(a) The supervisor is posted with the latest knowledge in content-field and technology of teaching, so that his superiority to the teachers may go unquestioned.

(b) The supervisor adopts a technique of inter-action analysis to study group relationships.

(c) The supervisor is conversant with aims, objectives, curricula and syllabuses of the current times.

(d) The supervisor adopts the technique of class-room inspection.

(e) The supervisor holds conferences of teachers, and of parents and acquires an objective knowledge of the locality, and gets himself known to the same.

(f) The supervisor occasionally meets the students and joins the school functions.

Improvement of Supervisory service

If the scrutiny of accounts is a 'must', the question of maintaining two sets of supervisors may be considered—one set with particular responsibility of pedagogic life of the school and the other with responsibility of other internal and external aspects. In such a case there should be inter-change of places between the two sets.

Inter-change of places between supervisors and school teachers may be a helpful measure

Supervisors may also be Central and Local. The Directorate of Education may bring out Supervisors' Bulletin.

There may be occasional conferences of supervisors.

And above all, a supervisors' training institution should impart special training to supervisors and also provide refresher courses.

An immediate need, particularly for West Bengal, is to increase the number of supervisors and to reduce and rationalise their work loads.

B. The Question of More Universities

India has long passed the century mark in the number of her universities. It was incorporated even in the 5th education plan that new universities would no more be established (certain exceptions were, however, made as a safety valve.) The 6th plan stated again in clear terms that new universities would not be founded except in backward regions where universities may be one of the many factors that may initiate modernisation and regional development. The almost blanket ban on new universities has been pronounced on the premise that higher education has sufficiently expanded, and that more universities will serve the unfit students who make no gains from higher education.

In this context we may consider the tenability of the claim for a new *University at Midnapore*. Arguments put forth by initiators crystallise on a few points viz (1) Midnapore district has 35 degree colleges, many of the eligible students of which seek admission to post graduate courses. Hence, in the interest of the local people a university should be established at Midnapore, the name of which should be Vidyasagar University. (2) The second argument is that the University may provide courses which will have a direct bearing upon the resources and needs of the locality. (3) The demographic map of the district shows sizeable numbers of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes people. (4) In the period of independence, there has been a proliferation of schools and colleges. These institutions may be made more purposive if they can be brought under the close jurisdiction of a university. (5) A close liaison may develop between the I. I. T. at Kharagpur and a University at Midnapore or somewhere in the district. (6) Midnapore had, for a long time, been promised a University.

The issues to be considered are—(i) West Bengal already has eight Universities (including the Visva Bharati and the Bidhan Chandra Krishi Viswavidyalaya at Haringhata—Kalyani). (ii) Excepting Calcutta University no other University is full to the brim with students. A separate university in Midnapur may lead to a reduction of load in so far as the undergraduate student population of Calcutta University is concerned. (iii) The University of North Bengal was due to acquire a local character, particularly serving the socio economic needs of North Bengal. The University of Burdwan was due to serve the Durgapur Asansol industrial belt in particular. Rabindra Bharati was due to foster the fine arts. Kalyani had originally been conceived of as an institution with a predominantly agricultural bias. Jadavpur was expected particularly to foster engineering and technology.

But none of those universities adhered to the originally proposed character. Most of them lost their proposed specialities and simply amounted to multiplication of the teaching-affiliating type university. Importance was gradually shifted to general humanities and science courses. Even admitting this character, there is no denying that these universities (excepting Jadavpur) could not yet show any excellence in student-performance or research achievements. Nor again any of these universities showed any revolutionary departure from the curricular organisation of the old universities. Only a few new elements (by no means wonderful novelties!) were introduced in the regulations and rules of examination etc.

In the background of the life history of these universities we should consider the already announced 6th Plan, National Policy and U. G. C. principles that new universities may be founded expressly for the development of backward regions or for encouraging the growth of curricular specialities connected with socio-economic life of the people, and that too after ensuring proper provisions for plants, equipment, libraries, laboratories, teaching personnel and research facilities.

Should we then establish a new university at Midnapur immediately? Two alternatives might be considered and weighed against

each other. i A new university, or (ii) university centre at Midnapore.

A new university may be brought into being if it may foster the education and social development of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes of the area, and if it may develop special branches of study to foster the economic growth of the region by effective utilisation of the natural resources of the region and locally trained knowhow. A simple carbon copy of an affiliating-teaching university may not acquire efficiency and academic prestige favourably comparable with that of 'established' universities. A simple degree-giving university may satisfy one purpose but it may not bring other benefits to help the young graduates.

(The University Bill has been passed in the state legislature and the University will shortly come into being. Let us hope the name of Vidyasagar is meaningfully adhered to.)

University Centre

The other alternative was a *University Centre*. Before the days of Lord Curzon and Sir Ashutosh, some big colleges of established academic standards were accorded subject-wise affiliation to teach at the post graduate level. The curriculum and syllabuses were drawn up by the University which also examined and certified the students. The colleges shouldered the teaching responsibility and the internal administration of the courses. A particular college was given the right to provide post graduate teaching in particular subject, or subjects, on the basis of available teaching personnel.

The concept of University Centre is an improved and modernised version of the concept and practice stated above. *It seeks to decentralise the teaching functions of the University by establishing out-station teaching centres.* The University may select centres with a concentration of undergraduate students and also select a viable degree college or other plants. Subject-wise affiliation at post-graduate level may be accorded if teachers with qualifications specified for university teachers may be available. Such teachers may be appointed on part time or on full time basis. Curricular)
Syllabuses and Text Books ie. academic aspects of the courses

are controlled by the university which also examines the candidates with same sets of questions and certifies the successful candidates as at par with candidates taught and examined at the university head quarters.

This practice has been experimented with at Agartala. Tripura has a separate school board. But the small number of degree colleges in the state do not yet justify the establishment of a separate university (although the desire to have one had been expressed). On the other hand, it is not possible for all students desirous of joining the post graduate classes to come all the way to Calcutta and to stay here for the course period. A university centre with specified subjects was, therefore, established at Agartala.

A similar experiment might be tried in Midnapore. Selective disciplines might be offered at the centre. If its viability and effectiveness were proved beyond doubt, a full-fledged university might come in future as a matter of course.

But now that the Vidyasagar University has come into being, let us hope for the best and hail it.)

C. Inter university coordination in West Bengal

West Bengal has eight universities, (9 with Vidyasagar Univ.), although one of them is a central university. Coordination between the activities of these universities is an imperative need. The reasons are as follow :

1. *There is one Board of Secondary Education for the whole state.* With the recognition granted to Hindi, Urdu, Nepali, Oriya, Tamil, Gujrati and other languages (17 first languages) by the Secondary Board, the treatment of all the recognised schools on terms of equality creates no problem. The text books (as also curricula and syllabuses) being standardised by the Board, there is, on the whole, a uniformity in school education. A student with the requisite qualification may seek admission to any college in the State without discrimination.

For matters of school recognition, affiliation, staff patterning etc, and particularly for conducting the Madhyhmik Examination smoothly, the regional centres of the Board may be strengthened

and made more effective. Over-all control of the State Board is a necessity.

In the matter of *Higher Secondary Education* also, a single council has the charge of all the districts of the state. Advantages similar to that of the Secondary Board may accrue to the council in respect of uniformity of standards and values of certificates. The council may also regionalise its functions for more effective decentralisation of administration.

But, different universities were founded by separate Acts of Legislature and their constitutions, rules, regulations and ordinances are different. They are all autonomous. The result is disuniformity in (i) Curricula, (ii) Syllabuses (iii) Text books and (iv) Standards of instruction and education. There are wide variations in standards. The layman obviously evaluates the same degree awarded by different universities differently. The bare fact is that candidates with degrees from different universities are not considered on terms of equality. This militates against students of some universities, particularly for appointments of academic nature. On the other hand, paper qualifications being the norm of appointment in state services, some weaker universities with liberality in granting degrees and awards are placed favourably in contrast to others. A uniformity in curricula and syllabuses, as well as standards of performance, is necessary. This will obviously remove stigmas and complexes, and also facilitate the transference of students from one university to another.

Multiplications of same disciplines mean wastage of resources. The universities of the state may decide among themselves the particular disciplines upon which each university would place emphasis. Teaching personnel may also be better utilised in this fashion.

The same types of projects and research activities need not be pursued in all the universities. Spheres of work may be divided to ensure the maximum possible output without overlaps. A sort of close coordination of activities is, therefore a must.

The matter is not difficult. The Governor is the Chancellor of all the state universities. Finances are controlled by Government regulations. The minister of Education, through the Directorate

of Education is the controlling authority for all the universities. The system of meetings of vice-chancellors (some times presided over by the minister of education) has been meaningfully tried in the recent years. Decisions about 2 year pass and 3 year honours courses were taken in such meetings. The Govt. resolution on curricular pattern and language teaching will ultimately be applicable to all the universities in the state.

But Inter-Varsity collaboration should not remain adhoc in nature. A permanent machinery should be devised. It may be considered whether there may be a stading committee of vice-chancellors with a secretariat of its own.

Another solution may be a U. G. C. type grants commission for the state. This commission may draw up projects, distribute responsibilities and state grants as well as grants received from the central Grants Commission for the whole State.

At lower level also, coordination committees of college principals may be formed specifically for academic programmes. Similarly joint consultative committees of college principals and rectors of Higher Secondary schools on regional or local basis may remove misunderstandings and ensure uniformity of work in colleges and schools.

Evidently, many positive administrative measures may be adopted and are necessary. Major steps, however, should be taken towards administrative restructuring of all the universities. The work has been taken in hand in respect of Calcutta University. We may make an analysis of proposed measures to clarify our ideas.

D. The Calcutta University Bill of 1979 (Draft)

Enough of heat has already been created over the question of terminating the temporary supercession of the provisions of the Calcutta University Act of 1966, and replacing the said Act with a new one of 1979. Reference is often made to the Gajendra Ghadkar Committee, the Model Act for Universities (as sponsored by the U. G. C.) and the report of the Ghani Committee on reorganisation and restructuring of Calcutta University.

The Ghani Committee had been instituted at a time when the University's administration had been cracking under pressure of

the number of student population, mass unfairmeans in examinations, inordinate delay in the publication of results, colossal number of unsuccessful students and inbuilt crisis caused by inefficiency and cumbrousness of the administrative organs. *The Committee made stringent comments against conservatism, administrative centralism, size and cumbrous status of many authorities with a labyrinth of ordinances, regulations, the domination of non-teaching members of Senate and Syndicate and the stranglehold of untackled problems which piled up higher than manageable proportions.*

The committee started with 'load shedding', suggesting the transference of undergraduate colleges in South 24 Parganas to the care of the University of Jadavpur and the colleges in North 24 Parganas, Nadia, Mursidabad to Kalyani University. The size of Calcutta University would then be limited to Calcutta (with its suburban areas) and Howrah (particularly if a new University was established in Midnapur to which would be affiliated the colleges in that district.) After reduction of the bulk, the University of Calcutta might be administered by (1) The Chancellor, (2) The Vice Chancellor, (3) Pro-vice Chancellor, (4) The Teaching Departments as the Primary Units which would take the basic academic and administrative decisions, (5) The next higher organ would be the faculty (the brain) which would take over the functions of the Academic Council and would consider all matters in relation to teaching and research. (The capstone would be formed by the Vice chancellor and Pro-vice chancellor) It is to be noted that the *Ghani Committee had recommended the abolition of Academic Council, and favoured one Pro-vice chancellor instead of two. But it had not associated the under graduate teachers with the faculties.*

For the administration of undergraduate education the Ghani Committee suggested six *autonomous regional councils* (to reduce pressure on the syndicate while maintaining unity in direction) for Arts, Science and Commerce disciplines. Three of the councils would be responsible for colleges in North Calcutta, South Calcutta, Central Calcutta and Howrah town respectively.

The remaining 3 councils would be 'subject councils' viz, Medicine,

Engineering and Technology, professional subjects. There would be provisions for coordinating the work of these councils of undergraduate education. *The coordinating organ* would prescribe the broad frame work of the Council's academic work. But there would be a *Board of Study with each Council* with academic and partial administrative powers. It was claimed that the proposals would *enable the colleges to enjoy autonomy while remaining connected with the University for Academic affairs.*

The Ghani Committee had also recommended the names of 5 colleges for special status of Autonomous colleges as distinguished from the rest of the undergraduate colleges.

The Draft Act : Instead of the Ghani Committee's suggestion for 6 autonomous councils, the draft act favoured 3 undergraduate councils. The differences and similarities may be tabulated in the following form.

Act of 1966

Chancellor

Vice-chancellor

Two pro-vice chancellors +

(Ghani committee recommended one)

Senate

Syndicate

Academic council

(Ghani committee had recommended abolition) Abolished

Seventeen Post Graduate Councils

(Arts, Science, Law, Medicine.

Engineering, Technology, Education.

Fine arts & music, Agriculture.

Commerce, Veterinary Science, Jour-

nalism, Home Science, Social welfare

and Business Management, Dental

Science, Library Science).

Act of 1979

Chancellor

Vice-chancellor

Two pro-vice chancellors

(priority of pro-vice
for academic affairs)

Retained

Retained

Nine Post graduate faculty Councils

(Agriculture, Veterinary Science,
Arts, Science, Commerce, Social

welfare and business management, Medicine and Dental Science, Law, Education — Journalism— Library Science, Fine arts—Music—Home Science, Engineering & Technology).

Ten Undergraduate Councils

(Arts. Science, Commerce, Medicine, Engineering, Technology, Dental Science, Veterinary Science, Home Science, Fine arts & Music).

Three Undergraduate Councils

(a) Arts, Science, Commerce, Home Science, Fine arts & Music etc.

(b) Medicine, Dental Science, Veterinary Science (c) Engineering & Technology).

The Ghani Committee had recommended 8 members for a Regional Council. The draft act suggested 27 members with representation from govt colleges, and with the Pro-V.C. (academic) as the Chairman.

The framers of the new draft claimed that the background of the proposed changes was formed by (a) an insistent demand for democratisation of the organic structure of the University, (b) an insistent demand for remedying the bureaucratic mode of administration, (c) clamour for timely holding of examinations, and (d) publication of results on schedule.

It was claimed that emphasis has been placed upon 3 major points in drafting the new Bill, viz-(a) democratisation of administration and direction, (b) guaranteeing initiative and drive of the different organs in the total organism, (c) guaranteeing autonomy of the different academic bodies to ensure quick functioning.

To ensure the fulfilment of these objectives the adopted measures are (i) *abolition of the Academic Council.* (It is admitted on all hands that the previous academic council was a sort of anachronism, because the academic proposals were actually made by the boards of studies and the P.G. and U.G. councils. But every proposal had to be processed through the Academic Council. This was a tedious and time consuming (rather time killing) process. The Ghani Committee also had recommended the abolition of the Academic Council. It is supposed that no tears will be shed in any knowledgeable quarters for this measure.

It is claimed that the *number of P.G. and U.G. faculties has been commendably reduced* by integration of the functions of allied disciplines. This will foster inter-disciplinary activities and will streamline the administration, particularly infusing speed in the functions and decisions

While the number of councils will be reduced, *post graduate and undergraduate councils will be provided for every discipline.* This will foster the decentralisation of administration.

Coming next to the question of democracy, we should consider the composition of the senate and the syndicate. The differences may be best understood from the following columns :—

Composition of the Senate

Act of 1966		Bill of 1979	
(a)	Ex.officio members 114 — including 87 Professors. (Professorial posts have gone up to 165 in the last decade. It would be physically impossible to accomodate all these exofficio members)	21	Elected by Professors from amongst themselves
b)	Nominated by Chancellor = 10	—	5
(c)	Elected 52	—	80
	(Principals of affiliated colleges = 8	—	(10)
	University Lecturers and Readers = 7	—	(14)
	Teachers of undergraduate colleges = 12	—	(17)
	Members of governing bodies of colleges — = 6		×
	Teachers of professional colleges = 7	—	(1)
	Registered graduates = 5)	—	(5)
Total 176			
		—	1 Elected by Employees of the University
		—	1 By employees of undergraduate colleges.
		—	5 students of

P. G. depts
 — 5 students of
 U.G. colleges
 (including one from a
 professional college
 one research scholar and
 one girl student)

Total 136

It is evident that while the number of elected members of the old senate constituted less than 30% of the total, the new senate is proposed to have 75% of its members elected from different categories.

Composition of the Syndicate

Act of 1966	Bill of 1979
(a) Ex-officio 11	11
(b) Chancellor's Nominee 2	2
(c) Elected by Academic Council 5	×
,, ,, Senate = 8	3
,, ,, P. G. teachers = ×	4
,, ,, U. G. ,, = ×	5
,, ,, Principals = ×	4
Total = 26 (of	Total = 29 (of
which only 8 were teachers.)	which 19 will be teachers.)

Then comes the question of selecting the chief executive officers of the University.

(a) The Act of 1966 provided that the syndicate would draw up a panel of 3 names (of which one might be a member of the syndicate itself). The Chancellor would appoint one as *Vice Chancellor* from the panel after consultation with the education minister.

(b) The Gajendra Ghadkar Committee had wanted to raise the appointment to 'national level.' A committee representing the Chancellor, the U.G.C. and the Syndicate would prepare a list of names and the Chancellor would select one from the list. The education minister would have no role in this case.

(c) The draft Act provided for 3 alternatives, viz.

(i) If the syndicate unanimously proposes a name, the Chancellor would gracefully appoint him,

(ii) If the syndics fail to be unanimous on a single name, the question will be referred to a committee consisting a nominee each of the Chancellor, the Syndicate and the State-Govt. A unanimous suggestion of this committee will be accepted by the Chancellor.

(iii) If no unanimity is possible the Chancellor will select the V.C. in consultation with the education minister.

In the *selection of the Pro-Vice-Chancellor* the Act of 1966 had provided for priority value of the Vice-chancellor's choice. The draft Act provided for direct appointment by Chancellor in consultation with education minister. This also accords priority of position to the pro-v. c. for academic affairs.

The *Registrar* who would be the secretary of the Senate and the Syndicate would be selected by a 3 man committee (including 2 Govt nominees).

Some provisions of the West Bengal Universities (control of expenditure) Act of 1976 have been incorporated in clause 45 of the draft Act. This clause requires the University to secure advance consent to expenditure in excess of the budgeted amounts, and restricts the university's right to change salaries and enhance allowances arbitrarily. It is admitted on all hands that there had been a period before 1976 when the University's resources were practically squandered away and favouritism, nepotism and group loyalties were fostered by the sanction of arbitrary financial benefits. Now that the scheduled salaries are guaranteed as per U. G. C. rules, and pay packets have been introduced, no one should feel bothered with the control of expenditure.

A primary scrutiny will show that the formation of different organs is proposed to be more democratic with a wider range of representation from academic interests, reducing the same from non-academic interests. This may find support from different quarters. Controversy must arise on some major issues, viz (i) selection of V.C, Pro V.C., Registrar etc. (ii) number and composition of faculties and the grouping of subjects in faculty councils, (iii) the status of sponsored colleges etc.

PART VI

Present State of Education and Administration

CHAPTER—I

THE NEW PATTERN OF EDUCATION

An academic debate immediately ensued after the adoption of the Kothari Commission Report, particularly when the question of implementing the recommendations came up. Heated debates were held on the question of location the 2 latter years in the 10+2 scheme. Three opinions became current—(1) the two years should be located in schools, (2) In colleges, (3) In separate junior colleges. The basic problem, however, was not physical location of the two years, but determination of the nature of education in classes I to X and in classes XI and XII. Once the 'nature of education' were determined, the solution of the location problem would be easy.

Education up to class X

The proposal to reinstate ten class secondary education was, in some circles, characterised as going back to the ten year matriculation system, throwing the 11 yr. H. S. scheme to the winds. It was argued that a sufficiently long period of trial was not given to the H. S. scheme. A twenty-year period was not enough to prove its "worthlessness". How could, then, the "once good" H. S. education be considered "bad"? Moreover, quick changes in the system of education would mean experimentation with 'fads' detrimental to the interests of pupils.

In a dynamic society, however, a twenty year trial may be considered sufficient. A system which might one day have been considered 'good', may be considered 'bad' in a changed situation. Rapid changes in education must occur in a society which changes rapidly under pressure of circumstances positive or negative! Education is a product of social philosophy, political philosophy and educational philosophy. Changes in all or any of these determining factors, must obviously cause changes in education.

Moreover, the new 10 class education proposed by Kothari Commission would not mean the 10 year education under the old matriculation scheme.

Nature of Secondary Education

All through the current world it is accepted that secondary education should be a common, undiversified and non specialised education for all, an education which would equip the adolescent for a citizen's life in a current society. Social adjustment would require language ability (most essential for cultural intercourse and social relationship). It does also require the minimum amount of numerical ability, knowledge of the sciences (specially the practical values and operations of the sciences), acquaintance with geographical environment and socio-cultural heritage, the minimum socio-moral efficiency required for an effective social life and acquaintance with the truth that human labour lies at the root of human civilisation, so that the pupil in his future days may shun parasitism and become a productive citizen. It should be 'liberal education', not in the narrow academic sense of literary education, but liberal education necessary for present day life and particularly non specialised common education. On the foundation of this common education will the future edifice of specialisation be built.

In short, the first ten years in the 10+2 scheme should be universal and common general education. The following two years should also be years of general education with positive orientation to future specialisation or life's avocations. In these days of complicated technology, even technical education needs a good foundation in general education. Even where an adolescent receives vocational education, instruction in "general courses" should mingle with technical courses. Genuine specialisation before 18+ is nowhere encouraged in the present world.

Objectives of education at the secondary stage are (1) to equip the pupil with knowledge of the phenomenal world, social heritage, scientific understanding of life's problems, (2) minimum skill for social and economic adjustment, (3) freedom from unscientific concepts and superstitions, (4) habituation to social cooperation, and (5) knowledge of the productive world.

Even though many of the children may not proceed further than the stage of compulsion (Class VIII at present), we need not think in terms of equipping them with vocational skill at this early stage of life. Vocational training, even for them, must follow general education. But at the same time, conscious effort must be made to obliterate the gap between academic intellectualism and productive efficiency that had persistently existed so long. The gap may be removed by the incorporation of a concept of polytechnisation of education.

Curriculum and Syllabuses

In a previous chapter we discussed the curricular pattern for lower secondary stage suggested by Kothari Commission. Instead of repeating the same over again, we may profitably discuss the curriculum that was adopted for the Madhyamik stage in West Bengal in 1974 which continues till date with certain amendments.

Curriculum for class VI consists of (1) First and second languages, (2) Mathematics, (3) Life Science (4) History, (5) Geography (the two together was designated as 'India and her People'), (6) Work Education, Social service, Physical education. In numerical terms it comes to 7 papers of 100 marks each = 700 marks.

Curriculum for Classes VII & VIII consists of (1) First, second and third languages, (2) Mathematics, (3) Life science. (4) Physical Science, (5) History, (6) Geography (India & her people), (7) Work education etc. $9 \times 100 = 900$ marks.

Curriculum for classes IX and X consists of compulsory papers and one optional elective paper (additional). The details are —(1) First language in 2 papers, (2) second language in one paper, (3) third language in one paper. (4) Life Science, (5) Physical Science, (6) History, (7) Geography, (8) Work Education etc. (1000 marks for 9 subjects).

The elective additional subject may be selected from two parallel lists of subjects—(a) Academic, (b) Vocational. (This freedom of choice is true more in words than in practice, because very few schools can provide more than a few subjects).

Critical Review

Complaints are often made by "affectionate" parents that their children are being grindled under the heavy weight of learning matter. One thing should be remembered in this respect that the nature and quantum of knowledge that might be considered sufficient for socio-economic adjustment fifty year ago, fall far short in the context of the span of knowledge necessary for social and civic life these days. Surely we would not be prepared to admit that our children are less able than children of similar age groups in other countries. The weight of our learning matter prescribed for our children does not compare adversely with that in other countries. If the field of knowledge expands, our children must also be fed with expanded knowledge

What is needed is rationalisation of the syllabus-content. Much of what is included in the syllabuses in different subjects are un-necessary details which may be dispensed with. The syllabuses should be drawn up with essential minimum in an integrated fashion. Syllabuses in History and Geography should, however, be thoroughly overhauled because of their defective approaches.

As said earlier, abandonment of the core-periphery arrangement is justifiable. The system of oral examination, including the consideration of sessional work is also a positive innovation. But the system and procedure of oral examination calls for much improvement.

The present system of physical education and examination is also defective. The schools are starved of proper play grounds, arrangements of gymnasium, equipment and trained physical instructors. Examination, in such a situation, is no more than window dressing.

The same criticism applies to social service. Students' participation in social service work should be viewed as a thorough process which continues throughout the years in school and out of school. Kothari Commission had suggested students' participation in periodic social service camps with intensive programmes. Evaluation without placing the students in concrete work-situations must be arbitrary.

Work 'Education'

The present scheme of work education deserves separate treatment.

A vital concept of education in the present era throughout the world is that of integrated and comprehensive education combining practice with theory. This has gained currency under different designations, viz—dignity of labour, vocational orientation and vocationalisation of secondary education. The nature, extent and method of vocationalisation must vary from country to country in accordance with socio-economic structure.

The U. S. S. R. has adopted the polytechnisation method with principle of bridging the gap between book learning and practical experiences of the productive world. The objective is to prepare the child for productive citizenship in a socialist system. Work experience is integrated with academic learning from the primary stage upwards. Major emphasis in the primary stage is placed upon manual dexterity, inquisitiveness about productive modes and processes and basic acquaintance with tools and materials. Emphasis in secondary schools is placed upon work in school workshop and visits to farms and factories. At the top level of school education the pupils are expected to take a hand in production, not with the target of turning actual producers, but with the object of abolishing dichotomy between knowledge and practice. It is expected that this thorough polytechnical education would enable the pupils to find out their respective avenues after leaving school.

Kothari Commission had adopted the ideal of Work Experience and prepared a detailed list of activities that might be provided under work experience scheme. It had explicitly stated that the types of work selected for pupils should be forward looking in keeping with the technological developments in the productive process and not backward and tied to traditional crafts, cottage industries and non-power handwork.

The commission had also suggested (1) education of parents, so that they may realise the worth of the practice, (2) proper training of teachers, (3) selection of activities which have social bearings and which may create avenues for the pupil's future, (4) provision

of fields and workshops where the children may participate in productive activities and (5) extensive as well as intensive searches about best possible work in a particular environment.

The Werk Experience scheme was designated in West Bengal as Work Education scheme and introduced in a roughshod manner without proper thought being placed upon experimentation, preparation and proper selection of activities

West Bengal Secondary Education Board's booklets declared, "For healthy social life there is need for social efficiency and productive efficiency. Social efficiency means capacity to live a cooperative life in a democratic and collectivistic society. Productive efficiency means to feel a bond of unity with and belongingness to the productive activities of the society. Book learning should be verified in practice. Work Education meant knowing whatever requires to be known in the world of productive work. The pupils should learn by contributing their intelligence and labour in productive endeavour."

Unfortunately the actual implementation of the work education scheme is far from what was theorised, as recorded above. Work education projects in most of the secondary schools have remained limited to knitting, wool work, bag making and the like with which the modern system of economic production has not even a faint connection. And our girls' schools had long been accustomed to such programmes of work. Very little shift has, therefore, been effected.

Rural schools do possess patches of land. But the students are not helped with scientific knowledge of agriculture, which they may now experiment with and adopt in their post-school life. Boys' schools in urban areas have advanced as far as candle, phenol, chalk making, book binding and the like. Very few schools of affluent children may provide mechanical and electrical gadget. But most of the schools have to move on the traditional track and to pay casual and cursory attention to the question under "duress". Things must, therefore, be improved.

Under whatever name—*work experience* or *work-education*, *productive experience* is a "must". But it must be forward looking, in keeping with the modern scientific and technological improve-

ments and modes of production. A thorough review is called for. Moreover, contrary to the views of the Kothari Commission, work experience has received least importance in the higher secondary curriculum. Rethinking is needed here too. Fortunately in August 1981 the Board announced a new programme of work education.

Some more recommendations of various commissions remain unimplemented till date.

1) The first to mention is the *location of class V*. This class has been academically located at the primary stage, the syllabuses being determined and text books supplied by the Govt's department of education. But organically it belongs to Madhyamik school (being its lowest class), excepting the case of a few Junior Basic schools which have 5 classes. This vital year of education, therefore, goes without proper attention from either the Directorate of Primary Education or that of Secondary Education. Happily, the present syllabus committee for primary education unequivocally recommended the inclusion of this class in the primary school at the earliest. Happily also, the said committee recommended the *addition of an "infant class" to every primary school*.

(2) Kothari Commission had recommended that education upto class VIII (in two cycles) should be treated as primary education i.e., the entire length of free and compulsory education should be considered as primary education. This idea is far from being adopted. It is to be noted, however, that education upto class VIII is free in most of the states. In course of the last four years, the Govt. of West Bengal made education upto class XII "free".

(3) Kothari commission had recommended that education in classes XI and XII should also be treated as secondary education. *There has been a departure in this respect, particularly in West Bengal*, where it has been treated as a separate stage and given the nomenclature of +2 stage.

(4) The same commission had proposed that the administration of the Higher Secondary Stage should also vest in the Board of Secondary Education which may be strengthened for this purpose. As against this, a *separate council* has been formed for

this purpose. Moreover, the two classes being located in both schools and colleges, there has been a dual administration of this stage.

Some recent changes in West Bengal

While implementing the recommendations of Kothari Commission, the language pattern adopted for West Bengal had been (since 1974) :

Classes—I & II = Only mother tongue.

„ III to VI = Mother tongue and English.

VII & VIII = Mother tongue, English, a third language
(in most schools a classical language).

IX & X = A modern Indian language or English as first language—Another Indian language or English as second language, A classical/modern foreign/modern Indian language as the third language

Criticisms were labelled against the heavy weight of languages which had inhibited the learning of the subjects. Similarly, some anomalies in the syllabuses of other subjects, particularly the character and content of the syllabuses in History and Geography faced public criticisms.

The Board of Secondary Education, therefore, took in hand the task of rectifying the anomalies, recasting the syllabuses in History and Geography and introduced *a new language pattern*. The new pattern is :—classes VII to VIII—Mother Tongue (or Regional language). English and Sanskrit or Arabic. (It should be noted that the Syllabus Committee for Primary Education proposed only mother tongue at the primary stage and the state Govt. endorsed it). For classes IX & X—Mother tongue (or regional language), and a modern language (obviously English; as compulsory languages have been decided upon. As an *additional elective* subject, the student may choose a classical or a modern language (viz. Sanskrit, Arabic, Hindi etc.)

Higher Secondary (+2) stage in West Bengal

Although the Kothari Commission had viewed this stage too as one of general education (with orientations towards specialisa-

tions), and had allowed the students to choose three elective subjects out of a list of many subjects (irrespective of arts, science, commerce) together with two languages, the *H. S. Council started with a division of subjects into (a) Academic and (b) Vocational courses.* (c) A so-called bridge-course was also proposed by integrating parts of the academic subjects with the vocational subjects. This was expected to facilitate change over from academic to vocational courses and vice versa. (The practical value of the bridge course is yet to be assessed).

A. The curriculum for the Academic section has been constructed as (a)—Two compulsory languages—Mother tongue (or regional language) and English; (b) Three elective subjects from a list of subjects belonging to science, social science and humanities. This list includes Political Science, Economics, Psychology, Physics, Chemistry, Civics, Geography, Education, Philosophy, Economic Geography, Accountancy, Business Organisation, Commercial economics, Nutrition Science, Home Science, Sociology, Statistics, Geology, Bengali, Mathematics, Biology, Zoology, Anthropology, Hindi, Sanskrit etc.

Moreover a student may also take up an additional elective subject at the 'ordinary level' or may also pursue 'advanced level' courses in one two of his elected subjects. This has been abandoned recently.

Kothari Commission had said eloquently of freedom in selection of subjects. It had not recommended the inclusion of Home Sciences or commerce subjects in the list. The commission had placed emphasis upon compulsory participation in labour camp and productive activities. The adopted curriculum placed the least of emphasis upon work-experience, physical education, N.C.C. or National service. As a result, the *curriculum has been basically academic and university-oriented.*

B. The vocational curriculum includes Para Medical, Para Engineering, Technical and Fine arts subjects. Whatever branch of study a student may opt for, he or she must take up one paper each of the languages and one paper each of three elective subjects from the academic course, which would function as a "bridge".

Criticism

The +2 stage being now located in both schools and almost all colleges, there must ensue differences in the teaching-learning process. Moreover, the inclusion of these two years in colleges will mean loss of the terminal character of this stage. Schools and colleges have been allowed to offer a few elective subjects. This means loss of the students' right to choose. Moreover, the schools and colleges force the students to elect and combine subjects in accordance with the institution's formula made on the basis of staff and other provisions. As a result, *education in classes XI and XII has well been divided into Arts, Science and Commerce groups.* (The old stream system, although the number of streams has been reduced from 7 to 3).

The curriculum has not acquired the character of the same in the American Comprehensive school, nor that in the English Grammar school. *It has almost become the same as our old Intermediate Arts, Science, Commerce curricula,* with the addition of some new subjects in the list of electives.

No standard for selection of students for the three branches of study having been made, the natural rush has been towards the Science Courses, followed by Commerce Courses, the Arts Courses trailing last.

A detailed study of the syllabuses will show *extremel lack of integrations with the Madhyamik syllabuses and also with the same in undergraduate courses.* On the whole, however, they are university-looking. Whenever public criticisms were made against 'load', there had been arbitrary "load shedding by deleting topics, which further affected the internal integration of the syllabuses. The recommendations of Kothari Commission in regard to 'examinations' have also not been implemented.

The results of examinations already administered are discouraging. Good schools showed better results than many ordinary colleges. A rethinking about the location of the stage is, therefore, called for. Special attention need be paid to the schools in the rural areas, so that they may do justice to the courses and also see that the rural children do not suffer. (It is to be noted that a

recent announcement of Govt stated that +2 courses will not be introduced in any more colleges.)

The vocational courses constitute a special problem. This section failed to attract students. (Examinees from this section constituted only 3% of the total number of examinees). Students from this branch are not sure of easy access to institutions of learning in their respective specialisations. Nor are these courses integrated with the employment market. (The administrative problems connected with +2 stage has been discussed in Part V i.e. administration).

Recent changes in University Education

Consequent upon the adoption of the 10+2 scheme the question did naturally arise whether the 3-year degree course (as it was after the 11 yr. H. S. course) should continue or whether a restructuring was necessary. It became an all India debate. Most of the states favoured 2-year degree courses after 12-year school education. All the universities of West Bengal had to take a coordinated stand. The accepted restructuring will best be understood from the developments in Calcutta University.

1. Length of the degree stage :- (a) *The Honours courses will be of 3 years duration and Pass courses of 2 years.* The system of 'grace', 'chance' etc. will be abandoned. (b) There will be a terminal examination for the pass students at the end of 2 years which will determine pass or failure. The minimum pass mark in each subject will be 30 and there will be no aggregate-pass. Successful students will be placed in first division (60% or more marks), second division (45 to 60%) and 'P' division (30 to 45% marks). These certificate holders will be declared as graduates. A candidate securing 55% or more in the pass course examination may sit for the Part I Honours examination in the next year. (c) Students with 40% marks in the H. S. Exam. will be eligible for the honours course. The Part I examination in Honours will be taken at the end of the 2nd year. A student with 35% marks in the first part examination will be allowed to continue with the honours course. Honours papers will be equally divided between parts I & II. 60% marks will make a first class honours and 40—60% will fetch a second class.

2. Students will enjoy greater freedom in the selection of subjects. The gap between Arts and Science courses has been narrowed down for this purpose. With this objective, the *different subjects have been grouped under three heads* :—

(a) *Humanities and Social Sciences*—which will include Bengali, English, Economics, History, Education, Philosophy, Political, Science, International relations etc.

(b) *Natural Sciences*—which will include Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, Geology, Biophysics, Biochemistry, Micro biology etc.

(c) *Vocationally oriented group*—which will include Applied Electronix, Industrial Physics, Analytical Chemistry, Business Administration, Computer Programming, Community Development, Firm Management etc.

(d) A small group of *Home Sciences* for women students only.

3 An under-graduate student will have to *study three subjects only*. i) A B.A. student will elect at least two subjects from the Humanities—Social Sciences Group, (ii) A B.Sc. student will be free to elect 2 subjects from the natural sciences group, (iii) Both B. A. and B. Sc. students will select one of the elected subjects for study at honours level, (iv) *the third subject may be elected from any of the three groups*. (Obviously such combinations will be possible—Bengali, English, Journalism ; History, Philosophy, Education ; Economics, Business Administration, Bengali . Physics, Chemistry, Computer Programming ; Physics Political Science, Education etc. (v) Of course a student may elect all of his three subjects from the same group. (vi) There will be three papers in each of the three subjects i.e. $100 \times 9 = 900$ in terms of marks). There will be 8 papers in an Honours subject ($100 \times 8 = 800$ marks). The same will apply to B. Com. also.

The Problem of Language at University Stage

The question of language learning has been a sensitive question in our country for a long time, caused by many factors viz. multilinguality, the constitutional enlistment of some regional languages and exclusion of many local languages, the domination of English for a long time, the problem of an all India language etc.

Kothari Commission had explicitly stated that the imposition of language learning at the undergraduate stage undermined the learning of the combination subjects. Since the learning of the combination subjects should be the prime consideration at this stage, *there should be no compulsion in language learning*. Important national or foreign languages may be placed in the list of elective subjects so that students may elect languages also.

In fact, the domination of languages had so long been a stumbling block before the undergraduate students who had to devote disproportionate time and energy to the learning of languages. Moreover, *the language formula had been discriminatory against the Arts students* who had been obliged to study two languages while the science students had to study none. The new scheme equalises the Arts and Science students for both of whom the scope remains to elect one or more languages as combination subjects. Language remains compulsory through the 12 years of school education. For those who love languages, there remains wider and deeper scope to study languages—because such combination of three elective subjects will be possible as—Bengali, Sanskrit, English ; English, Bengali, Persian. Evidently, a student belonging to any subject group, but with a motivation towards language, may elect a language as the third elective or a student belonging to the Humanities-group may elect even 3 languages as his elected combination subjects. This will facilitate a genuine urge for language learning. Such were the propositions of the Calcutta University Council. The problem being extremely sensitive *the Govt of West Bengal had to intervene*. Its decisions are that (i) Language should not feature as a compulsory subject of study. But it should feature as a *compulsory Additional paper*. The mother tongue should be made the medium of instruction up to the higher stages of education. But English need not be immediately abandoned as a subject of study. In order that all students, irrespective of subject groupings may acquire a better command of language, *each one must elect anyone of the five listed languages — Bengali, English, Hindi, Urdu and Nepali as a compulsory additional subject* and should pass in it with a credit of at least 20% marks. Marks obtained in excess of this minimum may be added

to marks in any other combination subject to make good the short fall, if any. Failure in language paper would not adversely affect total result.

This solution facilitates language-learning in respect of all students without imposing an additional burden upon anyone and should therefore be deemed satisfactory. A lover of English need not fear to have lost anything. The language pattern, therefore, stands as —

- (a) classes I – V only mother tongue.
- (b) Classes VI—VIII Mother Tongue, English and Sanskrit/ Arabic/Hindi etc. (The third language may not be compulsive in Class VI).
- (c) Classes IX & X = Mother Tongue (Regional language), English and a third *additional elective* language.
- (d) Classes XI & XII = M. T. (Regional language) and English.
- (e) Under graduate = One compulsory additional language out of the list of five.

* * * * *

On the background of these developments we may now discuss the 5th and 6th Education Plans to ascertain which way Delhi has been moving.

CHAPTER II

Education in 5th and 6th Five Year Plans

The propriety of a plan as contradistinguished from a cursory scheme can be best judged by analysing whether the plan reflects a correct survey of existing conditions, resources, needs, targets, priorities and proper deployment of resources. The amount and extent of state responsibility as well as the technique of implementation also constitute criteria of judgment. Educational planning as a part of total socio-economic planning actually means planning the human part of resources i.e., total man power planning. This is impossible without accepting education as an investment, because education has both production-value and consumption-value.

The acceptance of 'best return criterion' in the deployment of resources leads to the twin considerations of (i) external returns and (ii) internal economic efficiency of the education system. Wastage increases unit cost per completed education. Partial education means less efficiency. Unproductive education means unproductive expenditure. And lack of education means hindrance to productive efficiency.

These criteria will determine our attitude to mass literacy, universal compulsory education, women's education, equalisation of opportunities through multiple avenues, selective approach and employment correlate of education.

Moreover, the 5th plan in a series bore the cumulative effect of the preceding ones, their momentum or inertia, their failures and loopholes. During British Raj our education was tailored to the needs of colonial economy and administration. If we have failed to come out of that rut in course of the four 5-year plans, it must have been due to our own faults in concepts and principles caused by socioeconomic contradictions. Our plans had been full of anomalies, ambiguities and fallacies, as will be clear from a synoptic reference to the following data of expenditure :

	Primary Education	Secondary Education	Higher Education
1st Plan	85 crores	20 crores	14 crores
2nd Plan	95 ,,	51 ,,	48 ,,
3rd Plan	209 ,,	88 ,,	82 ,,

The suddenrise in expenditure for secondary education in the 2nd and 3rd plans was caused by the adoption of H. Secondary courses, which we have now scrapped as infructuous. Similarly, the rise of expenditure for higher education in the same period was mainly caused by sudden emphasis upon technological education without concomitant expansion of productivebase. This meant unproductive spending evident from extensive unemployment, while primary education and literacy programmes which ought to have got consistent priority, had to suffer. The results have been failure to achieve universal primary education and increase in the number of illiterates. The interest of the minority was sought to be safeguarded at the cost of the majority, thereby jeopardising national development and interest of the nation as a whole. Inspite of the

disproportionate deployment of resources, the achievements have not been spectacular, although tall claims were made of explosion of knowledge and excessive expansion of higher education. As against 0.9% of age group 17-23, who received higher education in 1850, a little more than 3% were provided for, in the course of 20 years of planning.

State responsibility being limited and allocation being miserly (2.9% of national income after the 3rd plan), private enterprise thrived and created a new class polarisation in education.

- (i) In the 1st plan, education accounted for 1.2% of national income

After the 3rd plan „ „ „ 2.9% „ „

- (ii) Per capita public expenditure on education :—

1950—51 = Rs. 3.2		As against this meagre growth,
1956—57 = Rs. 5.2		consider the fall in the real
1966—67 = Rs. 12.0		value of the rupee continuously
		during successive plans.

- (iii) The state bore 69.6% of total expenditure

District Boards bore 3.3% „ „

Municipalities „ 3.1% „ „

Tuition fees covered 13.0% „ „

- (iv) Higher education was still heavily dependent on the private purse. A not-too-old assessment shows :—

72% of technology students paid tuition fees to cover 17.2% of cost.

87.9% students in professional courses „ „ „ 22.2% „

84.9% „ in arts and science „ „ „ 48.5% „

And whenever we slashed the budget, the first cuts affected education. The results have been purposelessness, lopsided growth, brain-drain, unemployment, mooringless life and anarchy in young generation⁸.

Existing state of things :

Our economic plans recorded successively lower rates of growth from year to year, as will be evident from the following data :—

Failure and short falls are similiary apparent in the field of education, even after the 4th plan.

Existing state of things :

(i) **Literacy** = 29·34 in 1972 ; increase by 5·31% in a decade under plans. But this growth was offset by 24·66% growth of population. One million more persons were added to our army of illiterates.

Scheduled Castes and Tribes (13 crores) contribute 22% of population.

S. Castes = 8 crores i. e., 15%, literacy 10·3%

S. Tribes = 4 crores i.e., 7% „ „ 8·5%

* This explains why herculean efforts are needed in the field of literacy and social education and shall subsequently see how little had been proposed.

(ii) 6-11 age group = 84% provided with school facilities.

11-14 „ „ only 36% „ „ „ „

Evidently we are miles off the constitutional directive.

4th plan outlay for elementary education = Rs. 239 crores i. e. 30% of total outlay for education.

(iii) 14-17 age group = 22% brought under school system.

(iv) 17-23 „ „ = 4·4% „ „ formal education.

5th Plan Prospect (as outlined)

We should analyse the 5th plan proposals on the background of the then existing conditions.

Aiming at 5·5% growth, the 5th plan placed major emphasis upon (i) productive employment opportunities, (ii) programme of minimum needs, covering primary education, (iii) extended programme of welfare, particularly of the backward and underprivileged classes, and (iv) rigorous restraint upon inessential (?) expenditure (in education too). The draft called for attainment of self-reliance and higher level of efficiency to which education must contribute.

The plan made some candid admissions and laudable propositions. (i) It was admitted that the approach to the provision of social consumption so far failed to have the desired impact. Hence, the first step in Minimum Needs Programme was to identify priority areas in social consumption. Hence concentrated attention was to be paid to the progress of elementary education upto 14+.

(ii) It was admitted that education plays a crucial role in

economic development and social modernisation. It supplies the requisite number and quality of persons needed for various tasks. Education ensures effective working of the basic institutions on which depends economic and social well being. Hence, a major policy instrument would be maximum utilisation and development of scientific and technological skill and involvement of higher educational institutions in research towards the solution of national problems.

(iii) The plan recognised that education plays an important role in improving distribution of incomes. 'Over the long run, one of the most important instruments of equalisation of income levels lies in educational planning. Hence, formation of human capital by equitable sharing of public goods, like education, should be aimed at.

But very often, real purposes cut across professions. Never did the admission of education as a productive investment peer through the body of the draft. The concept of social service still had its stranglehold. The draft said, programme of social services such as health, education, family planning and water supply have an important role to play in improving the distribution of incomes. Hence, the objective should be to form human capital by equitable sharing of public goods like education and health.' Instead of 'sharing' public goods the concept of 'creating' public goods is seldom dominant. In fact, education is not yet considered as a 'productive investment'. That is why niggardly allocations and budgetary cuts were made at will. Educationists would not surely like to see education grouped equally with family planning and water supply. The covert attitude was more betrayed when girls' education was talked of. Curricular orientation was suggested with a view to meeting their special need as housewives. (Should we forget the 3 K's dictum in Nazi Germany ?) It was explicitly said that *'education of girls can play an important role ensuring the success of family planning'*. Obviously, women, who constitute about 50% of our population are kept out of economically productive education.

The plan, however, proposed a twofold method of solution (i) Raising the consumption level of the lowest 30% of population

who mostly live in agroclimatic conditions and include the backward classes and areas. (ii) Ensuring employability of those who receive higher education. Higher education was said to have recorded a phenomenal expansion without being reflected in economic potentials. Higher levels of industrial growth combined with technological transformation in agriculture could ease the pressure of unemployment among the educated.

The proposed directions of development were (i) equality of opportunity, with special emphasis upon primary and adult education ; (ii) close link between pattern of education and employment market ; (iii) linking professional education with manpower needs ; (iv) integrating adult education with development programmes ; (v) Improvement of quality and (vi) Involvement of academic community in socio-economic development.

A study of statistical data will bring out fallacies. Population projection showed :

In 1974 0-4 group constituted 14.9% of population,

„ 1979 „ „ would constitute 13.2% „

In 1974 5-14 „ constituted 25.7% „

„ 1979 „ „ would constitute 25.2% „

„ 1986 „ „ constitute 22% „

Assuming consistent fall in birth rate, compulsory education upto 14+ may be possible by 1986. What, then, this so called emphasis upon elementary education amounted to ?

(1) Pattern of rural economy and supply of productive labour force was not expected to change appreciably. The vital question was land system and productive relationship in agriculture which at present shows consistent pauperisation of the rural poor. Increase of labour force among women would be negligible. Thus a vital section of population would be left out of productive employment. Increase of labour force would be more apparent in rural areas. Evidently, development in Industry and Technology was not expected to tone up our economy.

The much talked of bottom 30% of population come mostly from rural areas. Their per capita monthly income was proposed to be raised from Rs 25. to Rs. 29. The skyhigh and consistently spiralling prices would make them consistently poorer. Wastage

in education would be mounting. Our much vaunted emphasis upon universal primary education and adult education was sure to meet a tragic end unless socio-economic remedies were adopted. The proposed linking of adult education with development programmes would become a caricature. What extent of adult education must one expect when allocation for social education which was only 1% of total educational outlay in 4th Plan was proposed to be raised to 2% only?

Next comes the question of linking education with employment market. Break up of our National Income shows 50 : 50 ratio between agriculture and industry. In agriculture, investment and employment is mostly private. The present economic pattern shows unmistakable signs of concentration of rural wealth in the hands of a few sharks within a pattern of semifeudal relationships and creation of a large army of unemployed rural labour. And our industrial sector is at the mercy of private investors whose sole objective is margin and quantum of profit. They care little for the employment or unemployment of the educated or uneducated. The consistently rising quantum of unemployment shows (i) the narrowness of our economic base (ii) its inability to provide more and more absorption consistently with growth of education, (iii) the weakness of the Public Sector and the domination of private profit motive. Close link between education and employment market would be impossible in such a set up.

Next comes the question of linking professional education with manpower needs. A healthy and growing economy *creates its own needs*. In other cases needs *are to be created*. In the absence of both, manpower production has to be *tailored to sterile needs*. It is not for nothing that the Govt. declared that higher education would be provided in accordance with employment prospects which, by no means, were bright. (Nowhere was it said that employment prospects *would be raised*, with which would higher education be synchronised). And it is crystal clear that unemployment of both educated and uneducated would be consistently growing. (For detailed data regarding (i) break up of National Income, (ii) Public and Private sector investments and job

provisions and (iii) Extent of unemployment, the following may well be perused.

Break up of National Income :

(A) Agriculture = 49.7%

(b) (i) Manufacture,

Mines, Gas,

Electric, Construction etc = 19.9%

(ii) Transport ...

= 15.3%

(iii) Banking and Defence

industries etc. = 15.1%

} 50.3%

(c) Agricultural investment and employment is mostly private.

Industrial investment = 1/3 public ; 2/3 private,

∴ The economy is heavily controlled by private agencies,

Income from Public sector = Rs. 496 crores,

„ „ Private „ = Rs. 28440 „

But employment in public sector = 10339000 „

„ „ private „ = 6696000

Thus, private investment takes the cream and returns the least.

It was revolting to see that *restricted production of specialised man power* together with *selective brain drain* was suggested as a matter of policy, so that a balance between 'needs' and 'supplies' might be made at the end of the 5th plan, 'solving' thereby the 'problem' of unemployment.

Registered unemployment —

End of 1st Plan = 50 lakh

„ „ 2nd „ = 90 „

„ „ 3rd „ = 1 crore 30 lakh.

1974 „ = About 2 crore.

Last comes the question of integrating the Academic Community in socio-economic development. Leaving aside the question of socioeconomic development, can we claim that the academic community is taken into confidence even in matters of educational development? The all-knowing bureaucracy was wiser than the academic community. How far could the academic community influence the State Govt's policy for reorganisation of school pattern, the curricular organisation and syllabi in those years?

It is evident that the *Plan's proposed directions of development would lose their way in the socio-economic milieu of crisis.*

Thus far about shortfalls in 4th Plan ; present stock, policies and principles. Next come the questions of Targets, Resources & Priorities.

That purposes and professions may not be same is clear from target and allocation.

(A) A cursory reference was made to *Pre-School Education* But no targets were fixed, no responsibilities were adopted. It was proposed to open 'play centres' attached to selected primary schools and to encourage private enterprise. Obviously, this field would be left open to profiteering sharks as it was at the end of the 4th plan. And it might be easily guessed as to which classes would take advantage of the few *selected* schools. It would mean *provision for the selected few in schools at public cost.*

(B) It was admitted that *elementary education* was necessary for literacy, economic development, modernisation, functioning of democratic institutions. Hence it would be given priority, for maximum returns in terms of individual and social gains through effective linkage with development needs and employment opportunities. Special emphasis would be placed upon *Self-employment* and enhancement of *efficiency of selected schools.*

5th Plan target was

97% coverage of 6—11 group.

47% „ „ 11—14 „

Plus education of 78 lakh children of 11-14 group through part-time provisions. Thus the constitutional directive might be fulfilled in 6th plan.

Allocation = Rs. 743 crores.

Plus Rs. 112 crores for school meals.

Total = Rs. 855 crores i.e. 37% of outlay.

But there was the problem of wastage and stagnation. 60% dropped out before completing 5 years education. The plan admitted that the problem could not be solved in near future. (It is a vital socio-economic problem). The suggested remedies were part time, continuation education, literacy classes and *informal education.*

The extent of coverage was also fictitious. Many schools existed only on paper and many were schools by name, being unproductive single teacher schools (of which a few thousand existed in W. Bengal alone).

And it was monstrous to think that a *socialist* country proposed "informal education" for children belonging to the compulsory age group for whom formal education must be a charge of the State.

(C) Secondary Education (14—17 group)

The plan admitted that secondary education prepared personnel for middle level positions and should be more intimately related with economic and social needs, and provided with on-the-job training. The propositions were all good. About the target ? It proposed coverage of 26.1% of the age group.

A greater danger lay elsewhere. While progressive countries have been consistently raising the age of free, compulsory, universal education, our draft obnoxiously said, "The trend towards general abolition of fees at the secondary stage would need to be halted. It places *unnecessary burden* on public exchequer and limits the scope for qualitative improvement'. The twin proposals were (i) correspondence courses and informal education for the many, and (ii) qualitative improvement through selected and experimental schools, for the few. It simply meant retrogression and backing out.

(D) University Education

Admitting the problems of facilities, low standards and unemployment of graduates, the strategy proposed was (i) No indiscriminate expansion, (ii) no further dilution of standards. It was plainly stated that "*economy does not permit expansion or absorption of graduates.*" Ceiling on numbers by raising fees or by rationing seats being considered inadvisable, the proposed way out was (i) Diversion of matriculates to jobs (Lord knows where jobs might be discovered) ; (ii) High standard of admission to college, (iii) Evening colleges, (iv) Correspondence courses and private study for the rest. This would prevent present distortions in public investment in higher education where we are *forced to spend* resources without receiving adequate social returns." (A call for

a new distortion on the plea that *quality education for the few* would give adequate returns by contributing to national development).

It was proposed that—

50% of additional requirements would be met in regular institutions.

20% through evening classes.

20% through correspondence courses, and

10% through private study.

The cause of the Open University was therefore propagated.

Post graduate education was proposed to be *highly selective* for the training of high quality manpower with emphasis upon productive researches. The Plan, therefore, sponsored emphasis upon Advanced University Centres on the one hand and Open University for informal higher education on the other.

(E) Technological Education

Failure of technical education was admitted. While on the one hand there had been a sudden and lopsided expansion of higher technological education, the annual outturn from the system was on the other hand, only 10% of total manpower stock. Again, qualitative improvement had only a marginal impact on total labour performance. Hence emphasis was placed upon upgrading skills and performance levels as well as *career development for the selected*, and part time informal education for the rest.

Enrolment targets- in lakhs

	Anticipated for 1973-74	Target for 1978-79
6—11	393.50 lakh Boys = 100%	
	244.61 „ Girls = 66%	
Total :	637.54 lakhs = 83.9%	782.07 lakh = 97.1%
		(111% boys & 81.9% girls)
11—14	104.92 lakh boys = 48%	
	45.37 „ girls = 22%	
Total =	150.29 „ = 35.6%	215.80 lakh.
		(60.4% boys, 32.8% girls
		= 47.1% Plus 78 lakh under
		informal education.

14—17	61·60 lakh boys = 31%	
	23·40 „ girls = 12%	
Total = 85 lakh	= 22%	112·08 lakh
		(36% boys ; 15% girls = 26·1%)
17—25	30 lakh	= 4·4% 46·50 lakh = 6%
(Arts. Sc., Commerce)		

Allocations

In other countries, education accounts for 2 to 6% of gross national product and 10 to 25% of Public budget.

Advanced countries spend 6% of national income

Some newly free Asian countries spend 4%

Kothari Commission had suggested 6% for India.

The actual expenditure is 2·7%

Moreover, the outlay for education is a small fraction of the total planned outlay.

In the 3rd Plan it had been 6·9%

„ „ 4th „ „ „ „ 5·1%

„ „ 5th „ it was proposed at 4·6%

* The 5th plan approach had suggested a total outlay of Rs 51165 crores at 1971-72 prices. The outlay for the total plan was Rs. 53411 crores at 1972-73 prices (i.e. 9% higher prices). It was, thus Rs. 2245 crores more than the Approach outlay.

* On the other hand, allocation for education which in the Approach Paper, had been Rs. 3200 crores was first reduced by the Steering Committee to Rs. 2200 crores, and then further reduced in the plan to Rs. 1726 crores.

* Thus, when total outlay increased by Rs. 2246 crores, educational allocation decreased by Rs. 1474 crores.

Detailed allocations also reveal such declines viz,

	4th Plan	5th Plan
Welfare of backward classes	= 119 crores = 1·1%	226 crores = 1·6%
Science and Technology	= 140 „ = 8·1%	490 „ = 1·1%

1. Comparative study of successive cuts (in percentage of total educational outlay)

	4th Plan outlay	Task force Approach	Steering Committee	Draft
Elementary	28.5%	39.5%	46.8%	43%
Secondary	14.4	13	13.6	14
University	22.3	17.3	16.8	20
Social Education	1.0	3.9	2.3	2
Total Genl. Edn.	85.1	90.1	91.4	88
Tech. Edn.	14.9	9.9	8.6	12
	853 crores	3200 crores	2200 crores	1726 crores

B. Distribution of Public Sector outlays :

	Current Development	Investment
Total 1726 crores.	Rs. 1290	Rs. 436 crores

Estimated private sector investment = Rs. 100 crores.

Central &

Centrally sponsored	States	Territories	Total
Rs. 484 crores	Rs. 1155 crores	Rs. 87 crores	1726 crores

Allocations under the plans in percentage of educational outlay

	4th Plan	5th Plan
Elementary	30%	43%
Secondary	18%	14%
University	15%	20%
Technical	8%	9%
Social education	1%	2%
Other cultural & edu- cational programmes	13%	12%
	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100

Priorities

The most objectionable part of the plan, however, lay in the domain of priorities. The Plan incorporated the ideas in terms of selection, wastage, return, quality etc.

It suggested the *reduction of burden for Universal primary and middle school education* with part time education, voluntary teachers, retired teachers etc.

In the field of *Secondary education* it wanted to *bring down cost for expansion by half*, with methods viz.

- (i) Larger contributions from private enterprise

- (ii) No new schools in areas already provided,
- (iii) Passage from middle schools strictly on merit
- (iv) Stricter terms of recognition of schools,
- (v) Imposition of development fees upon students,
- (vi) *Extensive encouragement to correspondence courses and self-study.* For *University education* it suggested—

- (i) Rigorous Test after Class XII,
- (ii) Rigorous conditions of affiliation,
- (iii) General slowing down of enrolment. and
- (iv) Drafting at least 1/3 to correspondence courses, part time education and private self study.

The essence was, *restrictions* on growth of institution and enrolment in institutionalised education, simultaneously issuing a blank cheque for part time correspondence self study

Since a plan could not generate public enthusiasm, nor could it solve unemployment problem. It could not develop the backward classes en masse, nor fulfil the constitutional directive. It could not contribute to national development, modernisation, nor technologise our agrarian economy. The plan would not make education available to all, nor could it stop brain drainage. It allowed the state to practise load shedding and did not put a curb upon private agencies. By giving a call for self study, self employment, self enterprise, and by issuing a blank cheque for private enterprise and class interests, in the name of economy and quality, it would fatten the few at the cost of the many,

New Actors on the Stage

It was not easy to assess the progress of education made during the 5th plan. It was during this period that the new pattern of secondary education recommended by the Kothari Commission was implemented. Immediately after curricular patterns had been reconstructed, there were debates and controversies raised, particularly in as much as the primary and secondary levels of education were concerned. The central authorities had to set up a Review Committee.

Moreover, the party affiliation of the Union Govt. was changed in 1977. The question of reconsidering the entire system of

planning was raised. Intense heat was created for some months over the proposal for a "running plan" to be considered on an annual basis. Personnel in the U. G. C. and N.C.E.R.T. were also changed.

Notwithstanding these debates and organisational changes, various "task forces" went into action. Conferences were held and blue prints prepared. A chain of reports, recommendations "expert opinions" and financial estimates was created. Happily, however, the question of universal primary education and adult literacy featured prominently and proposals were adopted to give a new orientation to planned education.

The main programme in the field of school education was highlighted as—

- 1 Universalisation of compulsory primary education,
2. Reorganisation of the educational pattern,
- 3 Vocationalisation of higher secondary education,
- 4 Reorganisation and expansion of science teaching at the school level.
- 5 Quality improvement programmes in school education.
- 6 Educational technology programme.
7. Provision of school facilities for transferable central Government employees.

The conference of state education ministers in August 1978 recommended that effort should be made to reach the goal of compulsory education upto 14+ during the 6th plan period. To reach this goal, 452 lakhs of additional non enrolled children of group 6—14 will have to be covered. The target for the next 5 years has been fixed at—provisions for 320 lakh children and to cover the remaining 132 lakhs in another two years i.e. 1984—85. For this purpose, block-level plans will have to be prepared by 1980-81. The situation as at present is :—Target for enrolment in 1978—79 :—

Age group 6—11 :	Enrolment, Class I—V = 771 lakh.
	Percentage of age group = 95.7 %
„ „ 11—14 :	Enrolment, classes VI—VIII = 211 lakhs
	Percentage of age group = 46.1 %
Total age group	Enrolment = 982 lakhs
6-14 :	Percentage of age group = 77.7 %

It is to be noted that $\frac{2}{3}$ of non-enrolled children are girls. Moreover, the vast majority of the unenrolled belong to the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and landless agricultural labourers as well as children of factory workers. Moreover, there is a huge problem of drop out children. Evidently, it is not simply an educational problem. It is basically a socio economic problem. And this socio economic problem is not free from political issues and turmoils.

Furthermore, no planning authority in India is in a position to foresee and forecast the possible movement of the price line. An educational plan which is fully or even partly dependent on the purse of the already heavily taxed people, must ultimately fail. In the case of India, it is to be further remembered that more than 60% of people live below the poverty line and a heavy percentage of them live below the line of starvation. There cannot be any alternative to the acceptance of total responsibility of the state to make provisions at least upto the level of compulsory education. There cannot be any question of "informal", "non-formal" or even "part time" education of children belonging to the level of compulsion. Compulsion will be a misnomer for them when 47% of children belonging to this age group are employed as child labour.

We should consider the 6th educational plan in the context of these issues.

The 6th Education Plan 1978—83

The 6th plan starts with self satisfaction for the phenomenal growth of education over the years. To quote the plan, "At the beginning of the 5th five year plan, the total number of schools and colleges had come from 2.31 lakhs in 1950-51 to 5.72 lakhs; the corresponding increase in enrolment rose from 273 lakhs to 876 lakhs. The total Govt expenditure on education in 1973-74 had been 1311 crors or more than 18 times as compared to 1950—51." Enrolment as in 1973-74 had been :—

	Age group	Classes	Percentage covered
	6—11	I—V	84%
	11—14	VI—VIII	36%
Total	6—14	I—VIII	67%

Evidently the goal of universalisation of primary education and the complete eradication of illiteracy is far off.

The Policy Frame : The proposals for the development of education during the 6th plan are claimed to have been based on six major changes of policy :—

(1) Programme of adult education, which thus far received less than one percent of the total educational expenditure, will be given high priority with 10% of outlay, with special emphasis on age group 15–35.

(2) A far greater priority will be accorded to the programme of universalising primary education in age group 6–14 with allocation of half the total outlay on education for the 6th plan period. Special reforms will be made to reduce the ineffectiveness and inefficiency as well as the drop out rates. Special emphasis will be placed on the enrolment of girls and children of weaker sections, viz, scheduled castes, tribes and agricultural labourers.

(3) So far quantitative expansion of secondary and higher education received greater priority and larger funds. It is proposed to regulate enrolments in the general academic streams of higher secondary and higher education, to keep down expansion facilities to the minimum and to shift the emphasis to vocationalisation at the secondary stage and to the improvement of quality in secondary and higher education.

(4) The non-plan government expenditure on education has become very large—with an annual growth rate of 12% in the last decade, and was estimated to be Rs 2245 crores in 1978–79. It was proposed to have an integrated look at plan and non plan provisions.

(5) The implementation of educational programme has so far been far from optimal. It is proposed to improve the quality of implementation, particularly in the fields of elementary education and adult literacy programmes.

(6) It is proposed to ensure a rural bias, to develop science education and scientific attitude and provide a system of non-formal education and training at all stages.

Provisions and Targets :

1. So long, the emphasis had been placed on mere enrolment in Classes I–V and VI–VIII. The inflated enrolment figures did

not take into account the huge drop out, which was 60% between classes I and V, and 75% between Classes I and VIII. The principle of "average attendance" would now be adopted in determining quantitative progress and specific targets would be fixed for enrolment in classes I, V and VIII. Special measures will be adopted to plug wastage and stagnation.

2. Careful plans would be made on priority basis for location of new primary and middle schools with particular care to feed the rural areas.

3. Every primary school will prepare census of all children of the age group 6—7 and prepare for their admission.

4. Instead of a single point entry and exclusively full time education which does not give opportunity to grown up children and the dropouts, the plan proposes—(a) a multi-entry system and special condensed courses of non-formal education for age group 9—14 with special emphasis upon age group 11—14. These children can be taken to the level of Class V in 12—24 months. (b) A system of part time non-formal education will be designed for children who enter school, but subsequently drop out in the age group 9—14.

It is expected that enrolments in elementary education will rise by 320 lakhs (220 lakhs in Classes I—V, and 100 lakh in VI—VIII). This will mean educational facilities for 110% of age group 6—11, 57% of age group 11—15, and total 90% of age group 6—14 by 1982—83).

A vast majority of non-attending children are girls, scheduled castes, tribes, agricultural labourers. Special measures for them will be taken—viz. (i) appointment of more women teachers, (ii) free supply of text books or even clothing, (iii) mid-day-meal, (iv) Ashram schools in tribal or sparsely populated areas, (v) separate targets for the enrolment of girls, children of scheduled castes and tribes, (vi) extensive popular propaganda. (vii) attempt to reduce regional imbalances by identifying backward areas, (viii) action oriented educational research and experimental projects (ix) a mass movement of parental education to be particularly undertaken by teachers, and (x) strengthening of supervising machinery.

5. Programmes will be adopted for qualitative improvement of

primary education and for enhancing the attracting and holding power of schools by allocating adequate funds for (i) socially useful productive work, (ii) curricular reform to link education to environment to make it relevant and interesting, (iii) improvement in quality of books and (iv) adopting better methods of teaching etc.

Allocation for Primary Education :

The demand for greater investment will be met by (i) economy in unit costs, (ii) more effective use of existing resources, (iii) increased allocation. Unit costs will be reduced by part time and non-formal education and double shift system, at least for Classes I and II. Existing facilities are grossly under-utilised by overlapping, duplication, bad location of school, irrational posting of teachers. These will be sought to be rectified.

It is proposed to allocate Rs. 900 crores (nearly 50% of total allocation, and about 2 times that during 1974-78).

Adult Education :

The existing programmes of adult education are (i) The farmers functional literacy project for rural areas, (ii) Shramik Vidyapiths for urban areas, (iii) Adult education departments in universities, (iv) Nehru Yuvak Kendras, (v) National service scheme and (vi) Assistance to voluntary organisations. These programmes will be continued with greater zeal.

But the main emphasis in the 6th plan will be placed upon a "very large, intensive and nation-wide programme of adult education—specially for age group 15—35. While previously the maximum number of adults made literate every year was 5 lakh, the plan proposes to cover 650 lakh (15 lakh in first year, 45 lakh in second year, 90 lakh in third year, 180 lakh in fourth year and 320 lakh in fifth year). Unorganized people in rural and urban areas living below poverty line, women, scheduled castes and tribes, landless agricultural labourers will form the special target group.

Besides literacy, the programme will include appropriate mix viz. citizenship training, health education, family planning, vocational skills, understanding of science and technology in every day life, physical education and cultural activities.

Attempts will be made for the training of workers, preparation of improved learning materials and adoption of dynamic methods of instruction. Full utilisation is proposed to be made of voluntary organisations, economic and workers' organisations. Teachers will be recruited on a selective basis.

With a National Board of Adult Education at the centre, the programme will be administered by suitable agencies to be set up at state, district, block and community levels. The programme will go beyond the traditional boundaries of education department.

Allocation : The total planned allocation will be Rs 200 crores (10% of total outlay as against Rs. 18 crores i.e. 1% of 5th plan outlay). Resources are also expected from employer groups, project authorities, tribal sub plan outlay for rural development and agriculture.

Secondary Education :

Emphasis had so long been placed upon expansion of facilities which led to haphazard over-lapping, duplication, uneconomic and nonviable institutions. Establishment of new secondary schools will be inevitable in backward areas. But indiscriminate opening of new schools will be discouraged. Emphasis will be placed upon rationalisation and consolidation of existing provisions and uniform patterning of school and college classes.

Additional enrolment of 30 lakh (equal to the numbers that had been envisaged in the 5th plan) will be made not by opening new schools only, but mostly by better and more efficient utilisation of existing secondary schools. In addition, programmes of non-formal education and correspondence courses will be encouraged.

Emphasis will be placed upon quality improvement (through useful productive work better teaching of languages, mathematics and the sciences etc.) Similarly, emphasis will be placed upon vocationalisation with the object of making secondary education employment oriented and directly useful for the students. Existing training facilities in I. T. Is., Polytechnics, Agricultural polytechnics, para medical school etc. will be fully utilised and fresh needs identified particularly in rural areas.

The present system of public (and similar) schools run by private bodies and charging high fees which restrict them to the children of affluent classes is inconsistent with present day social ideals. Govt, may take steps to enable the poor talented children to join such schools and also to persuade existing institutions of this kind to admit and provide free studentships to a substantial number of talented students from economically handicapped families.

Allocation :

The total allocation for secondary education is Rs. 300 crores. This needs to be supplemented by additional resources. Development fees, additional fees for work experience, science teaching, school buildings and equipment should be made universal. Private support in cash and kind should be invited.

The tendency to take over complete financial liability of privately-managed institutions needs to be reversed and the trend towards the general abolition of fees at the secondary stage needs to be halted. Liberal provisions may be made for scholarships to help the meritorious poor. But fees in secondary schools need to be charged at rates which bear a reasonable relationship with the cost of providing education.

General Higher Education :

There had been an unplanned and rapid expansion of general higher education in the first four plans. The rate was slowed down during the fifth plan. It is proposed to check the tendency further during the 6th plan

No new universities will be established during the plan (1978-83). Colleges will be set up with great restraint, only after ensuring adequate resources in terms of teachers, finance and materials. The policy will be to rationalise existing institutions, so that selected colleges may concentrate on a few subjects or subject-combinations and there will be rigorous control over the starting of additional courses in existing institutions.

Tuition fees for higher education should be a 'must', because it will curb expansion. Non-formal education, private studies should be encouraged and all universities should open their exami-

nations to private candidates. The main emphasis will, thus, be placed upon qualitative improvement.

To implement these principles, the U. G. C. has already prepared a broad policy frame, which includes—

(1) Access to higher education should be linked to talent and aptitude. Admission to full time first degree and post graduate levels will be selective and on merit (with safeguards for weaker sections).

(2) Courses at undergraduate and postgraduate levels will be restructured to make them more meaningful to the student and the society alike by extensive diversification, modernisation, interdisciplinary activities, researches and extension services bearing upon rural development, adult education etc.

(3) The Indian languages will be adopted as media of instruction at undergraduate stage and books in Indian languages published while scope should be provided for acquiring working knowledge of English and other foreign languages.

(4) There will be considerable decentralisation from university to the departments and affiliated colleges. The programmes for autonomous colleges will be pursued.

(5) U. G. C. assistance will be given to the improvement of academic standards in colleges on a selective basis. Grants in aid from state govts should also be used as instruments for qualitative improvement.

(6) Extension programmes should constitute an integral part of higher education.

(7) Post graduate courses and research will be concentrated largely in university departments. A few centres of better quality may be established. But unnecessary proliferation should be avoided.

Allocation :

The allocation for higher education (1978-83) is Rs. 265 crores. The deficiencies may be met by internal resources viz tuition fees from students.

Technical Education :

The inbuilt capacity of annual intake of 25000 students for degree courses and 50000 students for diploma courses in different

branches of engineering and technology will be sufficient for the next years. Hence no expansion is planned. Changes in man power demand will be met by appropriate shifts in discipline-wise intake. The plan will instead place emphasis upon removal of obsolescence and redesigning laboratories and workshops with special reference to the needs of rural development.

The total financial outlay in course of the five years will be Rs. 1955 crores, exclusive of the annual non-plan provision of Rs. 2245 crores for the whole plan.

Criticism :

On the basis of the plan-frame, the government of India launched on 2nd October, 1978, the adult education programme. The outcome of the massive plan is not assessable immediately. But, in view of the much condemned bureaucratic method of implementation which has again been adopted, it is feared that the programme may ultimately be lost in the wilderness of wastage.

The suggestion for rationalisation in the system of location of primary schools is easy to make, but difficult to operate. Moreover, the problem of single-teacher and double teacher schools has not been properly treated.

Secondary education is proposed to be expanded at the cost of the parent's purse. The plan unequivocally cries a halt to the attempt to introduce free secondary education. Moreover, it calls for the imposition of charges under various heads. And yet it speaks loudly of an "egalitarian society". Similarly a ban has been imposed on the expansion of general higher education. No one will contest the contention that higher education should be correlated with merit. But what provisions will be made for the "unmerited" ? There is tall talk of vocationalisation of secondary education. But should it be so done to enlarge the vast army of technically trained unemployed ? In fact, in spite of the claims of "departure", the 6th plan also follows in the wake of the 5th plan, with the same motive and principles excepting the case of adult education. (Other issues arising out of the plan will be discussed in Vol II).

National Education Policy—1979

In the meantime we have received the Union Govt's declaration on National Education Policy (1979), more than a decade after the earlier policy statement of 1968

The seventeen-item former policy had included (a) Universal free and compulsory education upto 14+, (b) equalisation of educational opportunities by removing imbalances and inequality between regions, communities, sexes etc : c) introduction of the 16+2+3 scheme, d) gradual implementation of common school pattern, (e) part time and correspondence education, (f) literacy and adult education, (g) qualitative improvement together with quantitative expansion, h) expansion of technical and vocational education at the secondary level, (i) emphasis upon the teaching of Mathematics, Sciences and upon researches, (j) scholarships for the meritorious students, k) attention to work-experience, social service and character formation, (l) publication of standard text books, (m) reform of examinations, (n) expansion of physical education, sports and students welfare, (o) improvement of the professional efficiency of teachers, p) three language formula, q) allocation of 6% of National Income for education by stages.

The new education policy obviously reflects the admission of failures over the years, and particularly supports the principles embodied in the 6th Five Year Plan. Without entering into the minor details, we may mention the major points made in the policy statement which are :—

(a) Upward review of fees (the word "revision" was avoided) in secondary and higher education (because the planned expenditure on education has already reached the stupendous figure of Rs. 2500 crores), (b) Restrictive expansion of higher education and a ban upon proliferation of colleges and universities with the object of raising the standard of education and of insuring against frustration of students and parents in later-life, (c) selective admission of students into colleges and universities (because a large number of students go to college simply to get jobs, and their admission undermines the standard of higher education), (d) higher education, however, would not be neglected. Instead it will be more oriented towards the life of the people in course of

the next decade, (e) the number of public examinations would be limited to three—at the end of classes X, XII and the undergraduate stage, (f) integration of the public and exclusive schools with the common school system. This work will be completed in the primary school stage in the next five years. (this statement, however, cannot be accepted without doubts, because existence of the public schools was also demanded in “high circles” on grounds of excellence), (g) fees in schools and colleges should be so raised as to bear relationship with the parents’ capacity to pay, (h) social and national service to be made an integral feature of higher education, (i) assumption of responsibility by the University system for the development of society, (j) vocationalisation of higher secondary education will form a major plank in educational endeavour, (k) technical education will be so redesigned as to impart entrepreneurial skills to the students and to facilitate “self employment”, (l) it should also develop meaningful interaction and collaboration with industries, (m) at least one agricultural university in each state, (n) delinking degrees from jobs and designing new recruitment policies with pre-service training appropriate for the job, (o) expansion of educational opportunities for the handicapped, (p) universal literacy for age group 6-14 years in ten years (this will be a main objective), (q) functional education for the adult people in pursuance of a national adult education policy, (r) the main drive will be to reach the masses, (s) attempt to introduce 8+4 system, (t) treatment of higher secondary stage as a part of school education, (u) adoption of only mother tongue for primary education and emphasis on mother tongue and arithmetic at this stage.

In spite of all these professions of a mass approach, there is no denying that the National Policy Statement was a *regressive policy statement*, more regressive than the 6th plan proposals. Certain promises were made even though it is crystal clear that the fulfilment of those promises was impossible in the present socio economic set up. Other statements simply meant a shifting of burden from govt, to the parents. It will be impossible to implement the National Policy in Education.

The State of Things in 1979

Let us take a stock of current situations.

On the literacy and primary education fronts: The National Adult Education Programme was launched on 2nd Oct 1978. Women and scheduled caste people would get priority in the programme. In any locality the first centres to be set up would be for these people.

The programme was "expected to be implemented" through a net work of compact projects. Each project would be a field-level administrative unit for organising the campaign and would synchronize with the area of a community development block. The project officers who would be assisted by a group of supervisors would look after the work of about 20 to 30 adult education centres. The instructors for these centres would be appointed by the project officer in consultation with the supervisors and learners. The instructor would be paid an honorarium of Rs. 50/- a month. Besides local school teachers and young men, instructors would be chosen from among students. The services of retired officials and ex-service men would also be utilised. An adult learner would have to spend 300 to 350 hours spread over nine or ten months.

Steps were proposed to be taken to organise permanent education centres as part of post-literacy and follow-up activities. In addition to library and reading room facilities, these centres would provide training courses for functional development and group activities. In other words, the idea was to make the adult education centre a place for learning as well as for cultural activities.

It is not yet time to assess the success of the adult literacy centres. Newspapers, however, have already reported that out of 1700 adult literacy centres of the above noted type in one state, 1500 do not exist at all.

To fight illiteracy is definitely a challenging task. Statistical data amply prove that while the percentage rate of illiteracy has gone down in the developing world, the "absolute number of illiterates" increased considerably. The illiteracy percentage rate had decreased from 81% to 73.7% in Africa ; from 55.2% to 46.8% in Asia and from 32.5% to 23.6% in Latin America. The number of

illiterates went up to 800 million in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It is well known that India occupies a low position in terms of the percentage of literacy and a high position in terms of the absolute number of illiterates. The central govt. adopted a three point programme to fight illiteracy. 100 million people over 15 years of age would be made literate in the next five years. (We have already discussed above the modality of implementation and the hints on success thereof). The other two objectives are "universalisation of primary education", and 'a package programme of non-formal education for the dropouts'. Nearly 62 million people do not go to school and on an average, only 15% of the students admitted to primary classes reach the class X stage.

The central Govt expects to provide primary education for 1000 million children by 2001 A.D. India may, then, have 120 million boys and girls in urban and rural primary schools, 90 million in middle and secondary schools, and 20.5 million in universities.

It is, however, very easy to fix targets in a subjective fashion, and it is very difficult to take all the 'ifs and buts' into consideration. *One of the stiffest stumbling blocks is child labour.* Official data shows that incidence of child labour in India is highest in the world, being 4.7% of the number of children. A sample survey conducted by the National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development showed that 93% of the child labour was found in rural areas, although child labour in urban areas is more intensely exploited. The study revealed that 14.7% of the children in 6—15 age group was employed. Though there were roughly 3 earning members in each household, as many as 52% of the families earned only between Rs. 251 and Rs. 500 a month, children contributing as much as 23% of the family income. And yet as many as 47.3% of the families are in debt, the average amount of debt being Rs. 97.00 per borrowing family.

The study showed that 45.5% of the children had either not attended school or dropped out. The survey team found that 7.4% of the child-workers were keen on education. The keenness was particularly marked among self-employed children, 66% of

whom would attend school if their work schedule was not disturbed. The institute pleaded for (i) a net work of formal and non-formal education centres in slums, and (ii) vocational education for children of age group 11–14

The *panacea of non formal education* has been prescribed as a cure. It is well known to anyone posted with facts that nothing tangible has yet been done or achieved in this field, excepting the holding of costly national and international seminars, conferences and workshops. But the publicity microphone blares loudly. In January, 1979, a Commonwealth Conference on “non-formal education for development” was held in New Delhi which was attended by delegates from 26 commonwealth countries. A press briefing after the conference gave it out that “there was pressure from the developing countries that *India should do something for the rest in this field*, and it should take the lead. They would like to have a clear commitment on the part of India in this respect” (comments are surely unnecessary !)

The conference, however, made 61 recommendations of which 19 are most important ! These dealt with adequate budgetary allocation for non-formal education projects, proper monitoring of their implementation, encouragement to voluntary agencies and private enterprise specially commerce and industry, adequate non-formal education opportunities to school dropouts with special emphasis upon employment skills, maximum participation of women by saving them the tedium of household labour through labour-saving devices, (comments unnecessary !) and readjustment of recruitment and selection policies of public and private enterprises to give equal opportunities to those who received non-formal education.

Secondary and Higher Secondary Front

An innovation suggested for *secondary education* by a seminar on management of public examinations made in October, 1978, was concerned with the training of paper setters and question designers in the concept and techniques of evaluation. This training should be extended to teachers, head masters and inspectors. School teachers should be supplied with sample question papers. The syllabi should be split out in detail, so that paper setters, text

book writers, teachers and students had no doubts about their objectives. Confidential "Question Banks" should be formed.

For the higher Secondary stage, it was notified in terms of recommendations of a national review committee that a student will be able to mix vocational with general education. In other words, a student will be free to offer general education or vocational education or a *mix of the two*. He will be examined in 5 subjects of which a core language course will be compulsory for both general education and vocational education. *A student choosing three subjects from general education course will have to offer socially useful productive work as the fourth subject.* A student can opt for condensed vocational courses like short hand typing.

A general foundation course dealing with entrepreneurship will provide an additional choice to students of general education. This course will be a "must" for students of vocational education. The vocational courses will have a practical bias and include subjects like maintenance of T. V. Sets, refrigeration, secretarial practice, nursing and optometry.

The Central Board of Secondary Education decided that results of examinations will be furnished in terms of marks for each subject at the external examination. The performance in the general foundation course will be assessed internally in grades. Only "passes" or 'failures' will be indicated without awarding over-all divisions. A student desiring to improve his performance in one or more subjects will have the chance to do so at the subsequent annual examination.

All these are central decisions and directives. *It is yet to see how for they are applied in West Bengal.*

On the higher education front

The U. G. C. in the meantime suggested that Universities should provide 3 year degree courses. 2 year pass courses might be provided with one year bridge course after graduation to enable the desiring students to pursue post graduate courses. The colleges permitted to offer 3 year honours courses *should be carefully selected.* Steps should be taken to strengthen the level of courses and to modernise and make upto date the course contents.

The Commission noted that education was essentially a three fold process - imparting knowledge, imparting skills, and inculcating values. Keeping these functions in view, the Commission laid down five objectives of the re-structured courses: (1) To provide broad-based education, so that the student becomes an informed and mature person, sensitive to the world around: (2) while acquiring the latest available theoretical knowledge, the student is also made conversant with real life issues: (3) To sensitise the student to an interdisciplinary way of approaching and handling situations: (4) To enable the student to acquire self-study habits, and (5) To focus attention on issues of social transformation (and regional transformation in particular) so that academic excellence and concern for social relevance may go together.

The Commission recommended flexibility to enable students to break away from traditional combination of subjects to adopt diversification relevant to rural and urban environment. In this connection, the commission noted with dismay that several existing courses were out dated, in some cases by 30 or even 50 years. The courses should, therefore, be updated so that they may encourage students to think and to analyse.

And lastly, the Central Ministry proposes, "*delinking jobs from degrees* to ensure that higher education does not become meaningless". Expansion of education will be strictly regulated and controlled while providing access for poorer and backward sections. No new colleges and Universities will be established except in backward areas and that too after conducting a survey. More educational opportunities will be provided to poorer sections through reservation of seats, correspondence courses and private examinations.

All these amount to wishful thinking when no positive methods have been suggested for delinking jobs from degrees. There has been incessant talk about restricting higher education, but nothing has been said about where the huge human load of "unselected" students would be dumped! Can such volatile policies deliver the goods?

West Bengal On the Current Educational Map (1981)

West Bengal has 38074 villages, of which 3318 are uninhabited

i.e. recorded as villages, but the entire land is under plough or fallow.

Literacy : The figure stood at 33% ; Male 42·8% ; Female 22·1% ; (In Kerala it was 60·42%, Tamil Nadu = 39·40%, Maharashtra = 39·18%, Gujrat = 35·79% Panjab = 33·67%). The aggregate figure may have increased to 36% at present.

The number of illiterates in age group 15—35 years is at present about 76 lakhs. To make them literate the Govt. has a plan to set up 234961 new adult education centres in course of the next 5 years (i.e. during 6th plan).

School going children : 109,79,800 children fall in age group 6—14 (5557600 boys and 5422200 girls, the number of girls may actually be 59,52,000)

Enrolment : At the end of the 5th plan, 59·93 lakh children (37·66 lakh boys and 22·27 lakh girls) were expected to have been in school. In other words, out of a total child population of 71·06 lakh of 6—11 age group, 84% were expected to have been covered. The present actual is 54·2% of 6—14 group).

The 6th plan target is enrolment of additional 16·56 lakh (including 5 lakh in non-formal education) children. This will mean the enrolment of 79·49 lakh children by 1982-83 i.e., 100%.

School : There are 2000 single teacher primary schools. Only 7% of primary schools have been transformed into Junior Basic schools. 1200 new school with 3800 teachers were established in 1978-79. 1200 more new schools with 3800 teachers were in the process of being established in 1979-80.

Teachers : There are 145599 primary school teachers in West Bengal. 48% of primary teachers are untrained and non-matriculantes.

There are 65 primary teacher Training Colleges in West Bengal with an intake capacity of 6526. (47 Junior Basic Training Colleges, 8 Senior Training Colleges, 8 Primary Training Schools, 2 Teachers Training College). The teacher student ratio is 1 : 40.

Data for Calcutta : Literacy in Calcutta is 60·4%. There are 262 schools of the Corporation with an enrolment of 46000 children. There are also 12 govt schools, 40 Govt, sponsored free schools, 650 Govt aided schools, 230 private schools. The C.M.D. A. renovated 600 and constructed 200 school buildings.

Expenditure : The average per capita expenditure is about Rs. 100.02 per annum. In 1977-78, the Govt. of West Bengal spent Rs. 59,63,28000 for 5952000 students.

Secondary schools : There are about nine thousand secondary schools of which a bit less than 50% are junior high schools with affiliation upto Class VIII. It was discovered that many of the so-called junior high schools were spurious or were profit making institutions of coaching house type. The Govt. decided to upgrade about 100 schools per year to High School status after thorough enquiries and inspection.

Higher Secondary Schools : The Higher Secondary Council had started with a thousand schools and colleges. Subsequently the number of colleges went up. New schools were also upgraded. The total number has almost reached the 1500 mark.

India's Educational Map in 1981.

India occupies the third place in the world in respect of scientific manpower, but has the 12th place in industrialisation. It means that even our scientific manpower is not effectively utilised.

An N. C.E.R.T. study of 1977 shows that (i) There is a school within one kilometre from the house of 95% people and (ii) Within $1\frac{1}{2}$ km. from the house of 97%.

(iii) The numbers of children belonging to age group 6-11 are—6.05 crores rural and 1.58 crores urban, total 763 crores.

School going children of that age group in 1977 were 3.83 crores (rural), 1.22 crores (urban) = 5.05 crores, total Percentage 63.03% 76.6% 66.08%.

—so 34% of children of 6-11 group were out of school (37% rural, 23.5% urban).

The question of religious and caste break up is no less important. A study of 1979 showed that 11.21% of Indian people are Muslim.

14.60% are Harijans, and
6.18% are tribal.

Amongst the Muslims 5.18% are Urdu speaking. 27% of Muslim

people are urban (as against 20% of Hindus). But poverty is equally true for them.

There are variations in the extent of higher education in the different states. On the whole there are more than 100 Universities and 2923 recognised degree colleges. Most of the colleges, however, are not viable. The roll strength of 1678 colleges is below 500 each. In Tamil Nadu the average roll strength is as low as 91 per college.

Taking the all-India average, only 3% of age group 7-23 are in educational institutions. Average annual increase in roll strength is highest in Karnatak (23%) and lowest in Bihar (3%). On the whole, the increase in the decade between 1965 and 1975 was 10.7%. But while in 1965-66 the increase of roll strength in agriculture, technology, medicine was 36%, it came down to 2.41% in 1971. The percentage of women in higher education also recorded a decrease in the said period. Higher education has been expanding in the upper classes. The expenditure per capita for higher education had been Rs. 500 in 1975 (Nagaland 30.5 rupees and Kerala 193.2 rupees). Budgeted expenditure is very low in the different states ($U/P=0.3$, $J. & K=0.6$). Higher education accounts for 29.8% of education budget in the states, on average.

Whatever the rate of growth of education, the rate of growth of unemployment always surpassed it. In 1979, the number of registered matriculates (and above) were 70 lakh in June. In December, the number rose by 620000. If semi-employed, unregistered unemployed and rural unemployed are added, the number attains a Himalayan height. In fact, 1.43 crores educated Indians are unemployed (1.24 crores male and the rest women). The rate of growth is also alarming. Between December, 1978 and March, 1979, unemployment rose by 1.5%.

Unemployment at home and allurements of superior emoluments abroad are cooperating to cause flight of talent. In the U.K. 30% of doctors in hospitals are men from India-Pak subcontinent; in some hospitals it is as high as 70%. Evidently, India loses the total amount spent for the preparation of these doctors (about 1.50000 rupees per head). 900 of the merit scholarship

holders are now in other lands. Some Central Schools, Delhi Board Schools and Missionary schools are thriving on this spree of brain drain. The number of Missionary schools in India is 8645 with a roll strength of 3075418 and colleges are 126 (roll strength of 102076)

As against this two lakh villages in India have no primary school, while in course of the next two decades 12 crores children will reach primary school age, 9 crores will reach secondary school age. Space will have to be provided for them.

The census abstracts of 1981 are not yet ready. As per census of 1971, the number of children labourers under 14 years in India is 22·8 crores (42% of population). Of them 18·6 crores are rural, children of 6-9 group constitute 24·7% of population (11·5 crores) and children of 10-12 age group are 48·4%, and those in 13-15 group are 26·9%. But even today 4·2% of children have to live by earning a living (although employment of labour below 14 years is illegal in statute). And above all 52% of Indian people live below the poverty line. What a challenge for the next decade "

West Bengal's Educational Map in 1981

West Bengal's population is 44312011, (Urban 1·96 crores). Of the total population the scheduled castes account for 816028 and tribes 2532969. In urban areas, 30·12% people are labouring classes. Literacy in towns is 55·93% (Male 62·01% and female 47·84%). But rural literacy being low, the average figure of literacy has not exceeded 40%.

Muslims constitute 20·46% of West Bengal's population, and most of these are agrarian, with a considerable percentage in industrial areas. It is found that inspite of being 20·46% of the population, the Muslim roll strength in educational institutions falls far below : This signifies backwardness. Fortunately the present govt have been paying 15—40 rupees a month as scholarship per head, practically as an incentive.

816014 people of West Bengal belong to the scheduled castes (divided into 59 sub-castes). They constitute 19·90% of the total population. While the average figure of literacy in West Bengal is about 40%, the same amongst the S. Caste people is as low as

17.80% (Male 25.78% and female 9.18%). Sc-Caste students in W. Bengal numbered 195074 in 1970 (9.91% of total). Thenceforth it increased by 12.16%. Obviously, the sc-caste people are still backward in education. Moreover stagnation is high amongst them. It is 24.64% in class IX of "Madhyamik" course, 23.23% in class X i.e. total Madhyamik stage is 23.16%. 20.12% students are over aged in their respective classes.

There are 2532969 tribal people in W. B. (belonging to 38 tribes) i.e. 5.72% of total population. The major tribes are Santhal, Munda, Oraon, Bhumiya, Kora etc.

Before secondary education had been 'free', all sch. tribe children received tuition fees from the govt. At present, in the context of free secondary education, they are granted examination and book grants. There are provisions for residential education, particularly in Ashram-schools. This backwardness and poverty is taken advantage of by religious propagandists. However, the state govt is growingly being conscious of duty. While in 1966 the expenditure was 23.82 lakh rupees for sch. castes and 25.63 lakh for sch. tribes, in 1972 it was 26.83 lakh & 27.41 lakh, by a jump in 1978-64.60 lakh & 39.25 lakh.

Primary Education :

There are 45000 Primary schools with more than 1.50 lakh teachers in W. B. The number has been rapidly growing in course of the last 4 years. About 4000 schools were added in this short period with 11690 teachers. Number of children from class I to IV is 6124300 (including 1106300 Sc. caste and 240400 Sc. Tribe children). Including class V, the number of children comes to 85 lakh.

Still many children are out of school even now. Apart from free education, the children are getting tiffin, clothings, implements like slate, pencil, paper. But wastage and stagnation is no mean danger in W. B. Sample study shows that 32% of wastage is caused by psychological factors, 34% by economic factors and 34% by pedagogical factors. Incidence of wastage is more prevalent amongst the scheduled caste+tribes children. In the District of Bankura out of 100 children in class I, only 40 reach class V and 25 reach class VIII. Where as in 1974, 73 of 120 children admitted

in class I had been Sc. Tribe children, the number four year later stood at 27 (i.e. 37%), and wastage accounted for 43 (63%).

Secondary Education : In 1977 the number of Junior High Schools and Junior Madrasahs had been 3211. In 1980 it rose to 3416 (increase of 205 in 3 years). In the same period, the number of High Schools and High Madrasahs rose by 200. Secondary schools now number 5000. Where as in 1966-67 the number of secondary school children had been 1711100, in 1979-80 it rose to 2392000. There are more than a thousand H. S. Schools and the same course is offered in 300 colleges. The total number of H. S. Institutions is 1325 with 4 lakh students. The number of students and teachers shot up in Junior, Secondary and also H. S. schools particularly in consequence of the introduction of free education upto class XII.

Higher Education : The number of students of the university stage in W.B. is proportionally much higher than the same in other states. The rate of growth is also heavy, being 21 / per year.

A committee of the Vice-Chancellors of all the state universities has been working on the problems of new courses, equivalence of degrees etc. A new language policy has been adopted in the state universities. The real problem lies elsewhere in the wide spread prevalence of unemployment. In June 1980, the register of educated unemployed had recorded 9'42 lakh names.

But W. B. surpasses most other states in her educational consciousness. This is reflected in spending by the state. The figures are—

	Planned Head	Unplanned Head
1976-77	220942000	921670000
1977-78	249266000	1074202000
1978-79	477594000	1580742000
1980-81	484154000	193031000

This account excludes house building and other expenses for cultural activities.

At present 35% of the annual budget is earmarked for education and of it about 50% is earmarked for Primary Education. In 1980-81 the plan-head expenditure is proposed at 554'14 crore rupees.

New Acts have been passed for Calcutta University, Midnapur Vidyasagar University. Acts are on the table for Burdwan, Jadavpur and other universities. A secondary education amendment Act was passed, as was the Amendment of the 1973 state primary education Act.

Next comes the question of curricular reconstruction. The new pattern of university education has been discussed elsewhere in Part IV of the book. The new pattern of secondary education including the changes in syllabuses made recently has also been discussed. Changes in H. S. syllabus to integrate it with higher education at one end and secondary education at the other, are also in the offing. A new syllabus for primary education has been introduced. It will be proper to discuss the new primary syllabus.

The syllabus drafting committee claimed that (i) The new syllabus reflects the latest educational thoughts and primary education has been viewed as an aid to the all round development of the child and the society (ii) The 'left out' of 6—11 age group have been attended to. (iii) Emphasis has been laid upon direct experience and work in order that education may be life-centric and may occur with socio-in-natural environment. (iv) Productive and creative work has been emphasised so that efficient citizens may be produced

The basic aims of primary education were stated as (i) Recognition of body, intellect, work and emotions and to emphasise the basic skill in mother tongue and general arithmetic as levers of thought and organisation of higher knowledge, (ii) Balanced development of human feelings and aesthetic sense. (iii) Acquisition of habits to ensure personal and community health. (iv) Freedom from blind superstitions about nature and society. (v) Development of attitudes and values for effective living in a democratic society free from exploitation. The prime necessities are knowledge, skills, habits and proper vision and attitude.

Acquisition of knowledge would include—(a) Understanding of natural environment, (b) understanding of social environment, (c) acquisition of knowledge about personal and community health, (d) understanding the truth that productive human labour is at the root of society and parasites and exploiters are enemies of

humanity, (e) capacity to understand others and to express one self in mother tongue (f) Acquisition of basic ideas about numbers and simple mathematical exercises.

Along with this knowledge aspect, there will be physical exercises, social co-operation, emotional balance, application of acquired knowledge, acquaintance with productive methods and processes and engagement in creative activities.

The syllabus has been divided into 4 parts, (i) Games & Exercises, (ii) creative and productive work, (iii) work based on direct experience, (iv) Reading-writing. The last sector includes only Mother tongue, Arithmetic, Environmental studies. It has been unequivocally stated that no language other than the mother tongue will be taught at the primary stage.

But this had led to a temporary row. Those who want to retain the compulsory study of English argue that (i) English is necessary for higher education, services and foreign tours, (ii) English is a language of international culture, (iii) start of English from class VI will not ensure an effective standard of mastery, (iv) Richer people will learn English of their own, while the poor people will not. This will create a class cleavage.

Arguments against are :—(i) Only 3% people are service holders. Service in the case of most of them does not require English, (ii) the argument that higher education is not possible without compulsory learning of English at the primary stage is not tenable, (iii) only a few people go abroad. To impose English in their interest will mean driving away the majority from the doors of primary education or to cause wastage and stagnation, specially when the rate of child labour is high, (iv) Effective learning of English is possible even after starting it in class VI, because of the influence of maturity and transfer value, (v) Mastery of mother tongue must facilitate the learning of a second language. (vi) from class VI onward there will be freedom to pursue English right upto the post graduate stage, (vii) Different commissions. Gandhiji and Rabindranath had expressed views against a second language at the primary stage, and lastly (viii) the interest of mass education and literacy demands that the learning field should not be burdened with any other language than the mother tongue.

The principle of "mother tongue only" has come to stay. Further assessment lies in the womb of the future.

University and Board Acts

We had previously referred to the Draft Bill for Calcutta University and also spoke of the new West Bengal Board of Secondary Education Act, as well as West Bengal Primary Education Act 1980 (Amendment of Act 1973). From the following data regarding their compositions an idea may be formed about the extent of democracy in educational administration.

(A) Calcutta University Act (1980) :—

Senate=

15 university professors elected by professors from amongst themselves.

15 Readers and Lecturers, elected by Readers and Lecturers.

29 Teachers of affiliated colleges with reservations for medical, arts, professional colleges and women.

25 Elected by registered graduates of the university.

1 Elected by university officers from amongst themselves.

3 Elected by University Employees.

2 „ „ Affiliated College Employees.

1 „ „ Librarians.

8 „ „ Principals from amongst themselves.

1 Research scholar—elected

9 Post Graduate Students—elected

6 Under graduate students—elected

5 M. L. A. s elected by M. L. A. s. of West Bengal.

14 Nominated by the Chancellor.

21 Ex officio of whom almost all are academic personnel being —Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, 2 Pro-Vice Chancellors, D. P. I. Secretary of Finance Dept of the State Govt, President H. S. Council, President Secondary Board, President State Branch of I. M. A., Director, Institute of Management, Director, Indian Assn. for the cultivation of Science, President Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Director-Bose Institute, President-Asiatic Society, Director Saha Institute, President Sanskrit Siksha Parishad, President Madrasah Board, Director I. S. I. and Deans of Faculty Councils.

Thus the Senate will have about 60 teachers directly and almost 30 more indirectly elected, apart from ex-officio academic personnel.

The Syndicate : Will consist of 12 Ex-officio members (viz V C, Pro Vcs (two) 5 Deans, President H. S Council, President Secondary Board, President Madrasah Board); and 22 other-elected by the different categories of senators and faculty members elected from different constituencies. The syndicate will have 20 teachers on it.

Faculty Councils 5 members each from 9 post graduate faculty councils=45 4 members each from 3 under graduate faculties=12 council members.

These councils will decide issues of academic interest and will be responsible only to the syndicate.

B. Composition of the West Bengal Board of Secondary Education under Section 4 of the Amended Act (1980)

1 the President, (2) the President of the West Bengal Council of Higher Secondary Education, ex-officio; (3) the Director of Secondary Education ex-officio, (4) the Director of Primary Education ex-officio, (5) the Director of Technical Education, ex-officio, (6) the Deputy Director of Secondary Education (for Women) ex-officio, (7) the Deputy Director of Secondary Education (I), Government of West Bengal, ex-officio. 8 two persons elected from amongst the teaching staff of training colleges for teachers of Secondary Schools affiliated to the Universities in West Bengal, (9) the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and the Dean of the Faculty of Science of the Calcutta University ex-officio, (10) the Dean of the Faculty of Engineering and Technology, Jadavpur University, ex-officio, (11) the Adhyaksha Kala Bhaban, Viswa Bharati, ex-officio, (12) a Dean nominated by each of the Universities of Burdwan, Kalyani and North Bengal and the Bidhan Chandra Krishi Viswa Vidyalaya; (13) one person nominated by the Madrasah Education Board. (14) (a) two heads of recognised Secondary Schools nominated by the State Government, (b) thirty-two whole time and permanent members of the teaching staff of recognised Secondary Schools (elected) (15) two representative of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly. (16) five persons interested in education nominated by the State Government, one of whom shall be a woman and at least one shall be a member of the Managing Committee of a recognised Institution, (17) one person elected by the employees of the Board (18) (a) one whole time and permanent member of the teaching staff of primary schools.

Concluding Remarks

We have taken a synoptic view of how education developed in India and what its problems at present are. These are but minor problems the solution of which will be easy if solutions are found for the major problems which lie elsewhere.

The dynamics of the progressive world demand speedy readjustment with new ideals and principles which have been ever evolving in human society : *The future of our education will depend upon how and to what extent we may adopt the progressive educational ideals in theory and apply them in practice.*

We are confronted with the problem of making education productive, scientific and modern. We must democratise education and provide equality of opportunity. We must raise the standard of education. And we must universalise the scope of education.

We have already begun working on University Centres and Major Universities, Nationalisation of University, students' participation in educational administration, selective approach in higher education, economics of education, educational planning (both principles and practices), augmentation of educational finances etc etc. But we have also taken some measures, in many cases without comprehensive ideas.

Our work in the 2nd Volume, which will be devoted to 'The Future of Indian Education' will consist of (i) an appraisal of the current trends and movements in education, (ii) an appraisal of the major problems in Indian education, (iii) the desired lines of development in the perspective of current educational movements and practices in other countries, (iv) the steps to be taken to assure a successful journey to nation-based productive education for all.

APPENDIX

Exercises

PART I

Chapter I

1. Justify the study of the history of ancient Indian education.
2. Discuss the different factors which influenced ancient Indian education.
3. Analyse the Concept and Philosophy of Education in ancient India with reference to Hindu Philosophy.
4. Discuss the aims of Brahmanic education.
5. Make a periodisation of ancient Indian education with reference to the special characteristics of each period.
6. Trace the growth of the Vedic system of education and the elements involved in it.
7. Give an account of the Brahmanic system of education with special reference to school life, curricula methods of teaching, teacher-pupil relation and educational rituals.
8. Discuss how Buddhist philosophy influenced the concepts and aims of Buddhist education.
9. Give an account of the Buddhist system of education with special reference to aims, institutions and democratic elements.
10. Trace the evolution of Buddhist education with special reference to secular mass-education and medium of instruction.
11. Discuss the salient features of Brahmanical education and make an estimate of it.
12. Discuss the salient features of Buddhist education and make an estimate of it.
13. Discuss the contributions of Buddhist education and account for its decline.

14. Discuss the contributions of Brahmanical education, as well as its defects and limitations.
15. State and critically comment on the resemblances and differences between Brahmanical and Buddhistic systems of education. Was Buddhistic education a rival to or a phase of Brahmanic education ?

Chapter II

1. Discuss the role of religion in ancient Indian education.
2. Give an account of the part played by geographical environment in giving a special character to ancient Indian education.
3. Give an account of (a) Rig Vedic education, or (b) Education in Later Vedic period, or (c) Education as revealed in Sutra literature, or (d) Education in the Epic period with special reference to urban influences.
4. Attempt an estimate of the extent and quality of women's education in ancient India and the factors that influenced it.
5. Give an account of professional and vocational education in ancient India.
6. Trace the evolution of curricula in ancient Indian education, referring specifically to changes from phase to phase.
7. What picture of ancient Indian education can be drawn from the accounts of Fa Hien, Hieun Tsang, I' Tsing ?
8. Discuss the ancient Indian concept of Para and Aparā Vidya.
9. Discuss the essence of the Gurukul, with particular reference to Teacher Pupil relation in Gurukul.

Or

- Discuss Teacher Pupil relation as found in the Upanishadas.
10. Enumerate the methods of teaching in ancient India, with special-reference to Yoga as a method of learning. Did the Buddhist system introduce new elements ?
 11. Describe some of the most important rituals connected

with education in ancient India and comment upon the significance of each.

12. Discuss the concepts of Brahmacharya and discipline in ancient Indian education. How far could discipline be considered as synonymous with education ?
13. How did State and Society fulfil obligations toward education in ancient India ?
14. Give an account of some centres of learning in ancient India and mention some features which may have some importance and validity even today.
15. Give an account of any one of the following institutions — a) Taxila; (b) Nalanda, (c) Vikramsilā and (d) Nadia.
16. Write an essay on education and culture in India as may be found in Kautilya and Indika.
17. How far has our tradition of ancient Indian education influenced our modern education ? What are the special features which we may adapt even today ?
18. Write notes on—Mantra, Samhita, Hota. Upanayana, Pravajja, Brahmachari, Samanera, Samavartan, Upasampada, Vihara, Gurukul, Tapovana, Acharya, Sutra. Yoga, Brahmadini, Upasaka, Parishada, Manavak, concept of Brahma.
19. Write essays on—
 - (a) Kautilya and Megasthenes on Education in India.
 - (b) Panini—Patanjali on Education in India.
 - (c) Social and Psychological basis of Sutra Literature.
 - (d) Education in Manu Samhita.
 - (e) Medical Science in Ancient India.
 - (f) Mathematical genius of ancient India.

PART II

Chapter 1

1. How can you explain the apparent contradiction that many of the Muslim rulers of India destroyed one type of education and patronised another type simultaneously ?

2. Give an account of the Turko Afghan Sultans' contribution to the cause of education in India.

3. Write a note on the claim that Feroz Tughluq had in many ways anticipated Akbar.

4. How did the regional rulers patronize education in India under the Sultans ?

5. Discuss the noteworthy features of education under the Sultans.

6. Make a synoptic estimate of the contributions of the Mughul Emperors to the cause of education in Indian.

7. Give an account of Akbar's educational policies and activities with special reference to his 'toleration' and educational reforms.

8. Make an estimate of Akbar in the field of education. Was he 'great' also in the field of education ?

9. Account for Aurangzeb's intolerance of non-Muslim education. How did he contribute to the cause of Islamic education in India ?

10. Discuss Aurangzeb's educational thinking with special reference to his concept of a good curriculum.

11. Describe the state of elementary education in mediaeval India.

12. "The ancient Indian tradition of spiritually oriented higher education and practically oriented elementary education continued throughout the mediaeval period." Discuss.

13. Enumerate the principal features of Islamic education. What efforts were made to combine Hindu and Islamic elements of culture in a general system of education ?

14. Describe the state of Hindu education in the mediaeval period. What was the result of the mutual impact between Hindu and Islamic systems of education ? How far was cultural synthesis successful ?

15. Bring out the essence of moral education in the Islamic system, in the context of the aims of education.

16. Give a brief account of education that prevailed in mediaeval India and its influence on the present system, if any. What are the permanent contributions of mediaeval education ?

17. Give an account of the condition and causes of educational decadence consequent upon the fall of Mughul Empire,

and the circumstances which favoured Western Missionary activity.

18. Discuss the state of Hindu learning in the mediaeval era
19. Write notes on :—
 - (a) The role of provincial rulers and nobility as patrons of education in the middle ages.
 - (b) Centres of learning in mediaeval India.
 - (c) The state of women's education in the middle ages

Chapter II

1. Vocational education in the middle ages.
2. Literary translations and adaptations in the middle ages
3. Tol and Madrasah as comparable institutions of higher learning.
4. Pathshala and Maktab as elementary schools.
5. Teacher pupil relation and social status of teachers in the Islamic system of Education.
6. The modes and methods of social patronage to mediaeval education.
7. Contributions of the mediaeval period in the fields of language and literature, arts and architecture

PART III

Chapter I

1. Discuss the contributions of Early Christian Missions to education in India, with special reference to the Portuguese efforts.
2. Give an account of the circumstances which had favoured missionary work in India.
3. Give an account of the Anglo-Danish missionary work in 18th Century India.
4. Enumerate the different methods in which the E. I. Co patronised the Danish and English missionary efforts. When, why and how was there a total reversal in the Company's attitude ?
5. Make an analysis of the important characteristics of the

educational enterprise of early missions. How far were they responsible for the introduction of Western Education in India ?

6. Discuss the significance of early missionary educational enterprise.
7. Trace the origin of Orientalism and Occidentalism in Modern Indian educational thought.
8. Write notes on :—(i) Grant's Observations', (ii) Wilberforce Motion and its defeat.

Chapter II

1. How did the urge for English education grow in late 18th century ?

2. Discuss the educational and cultural contributions of the Serampore Trio.

3. Analyse the forces and circumstances which led to the adoption of the educational and missionary clauses in the Charter Act of 1813.

4. How can you explain that the policy rejected in 1793 was accepted in 1813 ?

5. Discuss the nature and significance of the educational clauses of the Charter Act of 1813.

6. Write a note on the origin, development and role of the 'Fort William College in the cultural history of Bengal.

Chapter III

1. Discuss the Educational contributions of the Western Missions in India in the first half of the 19th century with special reference to women's education and the spread of Western education.

2. Analyse the nature of missionary educational enterprise in early 19th Century in comparison with the same in the 18th Century. What is meant by Duff Policy ? Why did it ultimately fail ?

3. Discuss the nature of the Bengal Renaissance and its impact upon education in India.

EDUCATION IN INDIA—PAST : PRESENT : FUTURE

4. Make an estimate of the principles and the role of Raja Rammohan Rai in the field of education.
5. Trace the origin, development, and role of the Hindu College.
6. Critically discuss the work of Derozio as a teacher in Hindu College.
7. Write an essay on the educational and cultural activities of the Young Bengal.
8. Discuss the educational views of the conservatives in the first half of 19th century in Bengal.
9. Explain and comment upon the policy of the G. C. P. I. between 1823 and 1835.
10. What were the major questions involved in the Oriental-Occidental controversy ? How did the outcome of the controversy influence later developments ?
11. Write a critique of the Macaulay Minute. What was Macaulay's part in the introduction of English education in India ?
12. Give an account of the state of indigenous education in India in early 19th Century with special reference to the Bengal Reports of Rev. Adam.
13. What were the major recommendations of Rev. Adam. How did the acceptance of Macaulay's opinion as against Adam's recommendations affect the fate of education in India ?
14. Trace the development of educational policies from 1793 to 1835. Why is the Bentinck Award considered a landmark in the history of education in India ?
15. Account for the differential educational developments in the Presidencies after 1835. How was uniformity ultimately achieved ?
16. Discuss the administrative measures which facilitated the expansion of Western Education. Account for the growth of a parallel non official thinking in favour of mass education.
17. Write notes on the educational thoughts and activities of the Pandits of F. W. College and Sanskrit College.

18. Write notes on the educational thoughts and activities of (a) Debendranath (b) Akshoy Datta.
19. Make an estimate of the contributions of Iswarchandra Vidyasagar to the cause of education and culture.
20. Discuss the genesis of Wood's Despatch. Why was a change of Govt's policy called for ?
21. Analyse the major recommendations of the Despatch of 1854 (as supplemented by the Despatch of 1859).
22. Write a critique of the Wood's Despatch. How far is it true that it established a State System of Education in India ?
23. Make an assessment of the Despatch of 1854 and discuss its significance with special reference to its effect upon later educational developments.
24. How was the system of English Education established in India ? How were the obstacles to the expansion of Western education removed ?

Chapter IV

1. Discuss the circumstances which led to the institution of the Hunter Commission. What were the major questions the Commission had to deal with ?
2. Make an analysis of the recommendations of the Commission of 1882 in respect of—(i) Missionary educational enterprise, (ii) Secondary education, (iii) Primary education. Discuss their importance and effects upon subsequent developments.
3. 'The foundation of modern primary education in India was actually laid in 1882'. Discuss.
4. Make an assessment of the recommendations of Hunter Commission and their effects upon subsequent developments.
5. Make a critical analysis of the Aligarh Movement.

Chapter V

1. Make an estimate of Lord Curzon as an educational reformer. Is a revaluation of the Curzon policy justified in view of our present educational problems ?

2. Analyse Curzon's educational policy and account for nationalist resistance to it.
3. Trace the origin and development of the National Education movement in its different phases.
4. Discuss the nature and characteristics of the National Education Movement, particularly bringing out the differences between the phases.
5. How far did cultural revivalism and political extremism help to give shape to National Education Movement ?
6. Why did the National Education Movement fail to establish a permanent national system of education ?
7. Discuss the significance and far reaching effects of the National Education Movement. Is it correct to say that the Movement opened up a new vista and irrigated the educational field for subsequent development ? Can it be characterised as 'watershed' ?
8. Discuss the philosophy and scheme of Basic Education
9. How did Sir Ashutosh defy the Curzon policy ?
10. Write notes on the influence of Revivalism and Extremism upon education in Bengal.
11. Discuss the educational thoughts and activities of (a) Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj, (b) Arya Samaj and R. K. Mission, (c) Vivekananda and Bankim Chandra.
12. Write an essay on 'Satish Chandra, The Dawn and the Dawn Society in relation to Education in Bengal'.
13. Write notes on the educational thoughts of (a) Annie Besant, (b) Sir Gurudas, (c) Aurobindo Ghosh, and (d) Rabindranath. What were the special contributions of G.K. Gokhale and D. K. Karve ?

Chapter VI

1. Analyse the defects in the system of higher education in India in early 20th century as recorded in Sadler Commission report. What remedial measures were proposed by the commission ?
2. How did the Sadler Commission influence the concept and structure of education in India ?

3. Is it correct to say that the importance of the Sadler commission lay more in its impact upon subsequent development than in its immediate effect ?

Or

'The Sadler Commission initiated a reform movement which developed increasingly since then'. Discuss.

Or

'The report of the Calcutta University Commission has been a constant source of suggestion and information. Its significance in the History of Indian Education has been incalculable.'—Discuss.

4. How did the constitutional reforms of 1919 and 1935 influence educational development in India ?
5. Write notes on (i) Hartog Committee Report, (ii) Sapru Committee Report, (iii) Abbot-Wood Committee Report.
6. Make an evaluation of the major tenets of Sargent Plan in the light of our present state of Education.
7. 'The period between 1917 and 1947 was characterised more by aspirations than by achievements in Educational reforms.' Discuss.

PART IV

Chapter—I

1. Make a retrospective study of the growth and expansion of Primary Education in modern India before 1947.
2. What attempts were made to introduce compulsory and free primary education in India ? Account for the failure.
3. Trace the development and expansion of Basic Education. Why was the expansion not satisfactory ?
4. Make a critical analysis of the problems of primary education and offer suggestions for improvements.
5. Write a critique of the Kothari Commission scheme of Primary Education.
6. Write an essay on 'The features of Primary Education.'

Chapter II

1. Discuss the nature of Secondary education.
2. How and why did the concept of Secondary Education in India change in course of the last 100 years ?
3. Write an essay on the aims and curriculum of Secondary Education.
4. Make an analysis of the major recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission (1953) and the effects thereof. How were the recommendations implemented ? Was a review of the Higher Secondary system called for ?
5. Discuss the problems of (a) languages at secondary school level, (b) curriculum and teachers, (c) standard of secondary education. (d) student indiscipline (with special reference to West Bengal).
6. Discuss the general problems of secondary education with special reference to provision, administration and financing.
7. Give a critical account of the suggestions made by the Kothari Commission in respect of secondary education and discuss their significance.
8. Give your opinion in respect of the 10yearschooleducation scheme. Should the next two years be treated as an independent stage ? If so, where should it be located ?

Chapter III

1. Discuss the evolution of modern Higher Education in India
2. Write a note on the Rural University proposed by the Radhakrishnan Commission and the outcome thereof.
3. Give an account of the expansion of Higher Education since independence and point out the general problems.
4. What are the aims of Higher Education ? How far have we achieved those aims ?
5. Point out the defects in our system of Higher Education. What attempts were so far made to remedy the defects and with what effect ?
6. Write notes on (1) Medium of Higher Education, (2) The present student unrest.

Chapter IV

1. Trace the development of technical and vocational education in modern India. Why was such education delayed ?
2. What are the different types of technical and vocational institutions existent in India ? What purpose do they serve ?
3. Discuss the problems of technical education in India and suggest remedies. Why is there a crisis in the field ?
4. Write a short note on Kothari Commission's recommendations in respect of technical and vocational education.
5. Give a synoptic idea about the development of teacher education in modern India.
6. Discuss the meaning and aims of technical, vocational and professional education. What is the socio-economic basis of educational specialisation ?
7. How is Technical Education related to General Education ? Throw light on the General Education Movement.
8. How does technical education differ from general education in terms of nature and objectives ?
9. What is maladjustment in technical education ? Discuss the role of Guidance to guard against maladjustment.
10. Discuss the present state of technical education in India.

Chapter V

1. Trace the development of Women's Education in India since early 19th Century. Why is it still lagging behind ?
2. Discuss the development of women's education in India since independence, with special reference to the recommendations of different expert committees.

Chapter VI

1. What is Social Education ?
2. What are the problems of adult education in India ? Suggest measures to augment literacy in the light of the existing conditions.
3. Trace the development of adult education in India since the early part of the 20th Century.

PART V

Chapter I

- 1 Discuss the nature and aims of educational administration.
- 2 Write a note on the Principles and Scope of Educational Administration.

Chapter II

1. "The Principles of educational administration are concomitant with the aims and system of education."
2. "The Administration of education in any country is an evolutionary process and its growth depends upon historical, cultural, social and political factors." Elucidate
3. Make an analysis of the factors which determine educational administration.
4. Discuss with reference to historical instances the truth in the statement that education and its administration has always been determined by the ideology of the dominant social group.
5. Can the principle of "free enterprise" be admitted in the present days ? If not, why ?
6. 'Planned Education and state control of education are proportionately and directly related.' Discuss.
- 7 Write a note on "the need for a theory of educational administration."

Chapter III

- 1 What was the nature of the new element introduced into Educational Administration in India by the Missionaries ?
- 2 Point out the differences between educational administration introduced in 1813 and 1854. Can we say that administration really commenced after 1854 ?
3. Analyse the nature of educational administration established in 1854. Can it be called colonial in nature ?
4. Make an assessment of Lord Curzon's policy in educational administration.
5. Discuss the helpful and baneful effects of Diarchy upon educational administration.

6. Discuss the significance of the Federal List under Provincial autonomy.
7. Write an essay on the system of educational administration in India at present.
8. Discuss the powers and functions of the Central Govt in educational administration in India at present. Mention the central agencies of importance.
9. What are the powers and functions of an Indian state in educational administration? How are they exercised?
10. Write detailed notes on i) N.C.E.R.T. and (ii) U.G.C.

Chapter IV

1. Discuss the effect of the Despatch of 1854 upon the administration of Primary Education.
2. Analyse the significance of the recommendations of Hunter Commission in regard to the administration of primary education.
3. Discuss the characteristics of the Provincial Primary Education Acts and their significance in the administration of Primary Education.
4. Give an account of the present pattern of the administration of primary education in India.
5. Trace the development of the administration of primary education in Bengal from 1919 to 1947.
6. Give an account of the currently prevailing pattern of administration of primary education in West Bengal.
7. Make a critical analysis of the West Bengal Primary Education Act 1973, with tabulated amendments.
8. Account for the failure of the Local Self Govt bodies in the field of primary education in India.
9. Discuss the main issues in the administration of primary education in Bengal during diarchy with special reference to public finance and rates.
10. Discuss the administrative hurdles in the way to compulsory Pr. Education.
11. Discuss the structure of administration as laid down in the state Primary Education Act.

Chapter V

1. Discuss the methods of educational finance in contemporary India.
2. How is the responsibility of educational finance borne by different agencies ? Offer your suggestions for improvement.
3. Why should the Union Govt provide respectable funds for adult literacy and non-formal education ?

Chapter VI

1. Trace the persistence of Dual Control of Secondary Education with special reference to the case of Bengal and West Bengal).
2. Discuss the recommendations of the Mudaliar Commission in regard to the administration of Secondary Education. How far did the practice deviate from the recommendations ?
3. Write a note on the administration of Secondary Education in West Bengal and offer suggestion for its improvement.
4. Write a note on the administration of H.S. Education in W.B. and suggest measures of improvement.

Chapter VII

1. Distinguish between Federal University, Unitary University, Affiliating University, Constituent College and Affiliated College.
2. Discuss the General pattern and structure of university administration.
3. Make a critical study of Lord Curzon's administration of University Education. How far was it an improvement upon the administration practised since 1857 ? Why was there a public discontent against Curzon's policy ?
4. Discuss the constitutional provisions for the administration of University Education.
5. Write notes on (i) aims of higher education, (ii) Types of higher educational institution, (iii) U.G.C, (iv) Inter-University board, (v) Association of Universities.

PART VI

Chapter—I

1. Discuss the nature of Secondary Education with special reference to curriculum and syllabuses. How far does the present pattern of Madhyamik Education in West Bengal satisfy the basic principles ? Refer to the recent changes.
2. Discuss the theory of Work-Experience in comparison with the concept of polytechnised education.
3. Write a critique of the Work Education scheme introduced in West Bengal. Point out its defects and suggest measures for improvement.
4. Give a critical account of the Scheme of Higher Secondary Education in West Bengal.
5. Attempt a critical study of the recently introduced curricular pattern for undergraduate education in Calcutta University.
6. Write a note on the projected solution of the language issue in undergraduate education in West Bengal and add your own comments.

Chapter—II

1. How had the prospects, targets and allocations fixed in regard to the 5th education plan ?
2. Analyse and make your comments on the 'approach' adopted in the 5th education plan.
3. What programme in school education was suggested after 1977 ?
4. Discuss the principles behind the targets and allocations adopted in the 6th Education Plan.
5. What are the basic defects of the 6th education plan ?
6. Give your opinion about the causes of failure of our education plans.
7. Write a critique of the National Education Policy, 1979.
8. Make a comparison between the National Education Policy and the 6th Education Plan.

Appendix—2

9. Compare the National Education Policy of 1979 with that of 1968.
10. Write a note on the U.G.C's directives (1979) for University education.
11. Discuss the educational projects of the Union Govt. since the adoption of the 6th education plan.
12. Draw a pen picture of the state of primary education in West Bengal in 1979.
13. Where does Education in India and in West Bengal stand in 1981 ?

PART IV

Chapter VII

1. Discuss the development of Primary and Basic education in Bengal (and W. B.) in the current century.
2. Give a critical account of the condition of Primary Education in the Urban and the Rural areas of West Bengal.
3. Trace the development of Secondary Education in Bengal (and W. Bengal) since the time of Lord Curzon,
4. Give an account of the system of secondary education in W. Bengal at present.
5. Make an analysis of the problems of secondary education in West Bengal and offer remedial suggestions.
6. Write a note on the system of secondary education in West Bengal (before the recent introduction of the 10 year school scheme).
7. Write an essay on the expansion and problems of Higher Education in West Bengal.
Discuss the problems of teacher-education with special reference to West Bengal.
7. Discuss the problems of women's education in India at present.
What attempts are being made in West Bengal to spread literacy ?
8. Make an estimate of the Calcutta University Act of 1915
How far was the Act of 1966 an improvement ?

PART V

Chapter VIII

1. Trace, in brief, the history of school inspection in modern India and the nature and method of such inspection. Has the state of things improved after the attainment of independence ?
2. Write a note on the concept of scientific supervision. What are the objectives and functions of a school supervisor ? What should be his mode of work ?
3. Discuss the need for supervision, the measures adoptable for its improvement
4. Why did the 5th & 6th Plans put a blanket ban on the establishment of new universities ? Give your arguments in favour or against a new university at Midnapore
5. Discuss the idea and experimented success of a 'University Centre'. Should there be a University Centre at Midnapore ?
6. Is there any need for coordination of activities of the different universities of West Bengal ? If so, what method and machine may be adopted for the same ?
7. What were the defects of Calcutta University pointed out by Ghani Committee ? What was the background of the draft Bill of 1979 ? What objectives were put forth in support of the proposed Act of 1979 ?
8. Make a comparison between the Calcutta University Act of 1966 and the Bill of 1979. What are the new features in the composition of senate and syndicate and selection of V. C. ?
9. Write notes on the composition of Calcutta University Board of Secondary Education, Primary School or per acts of 1980.

